Summer projects: stepchild of the Peace Corps

A program dies in the city

Editor's note: The city may be the toughest arena in the Peace Corps, and it is especially difficult for those in urban community development. Here is one Volunteer's analysis of a small UCD program that fell apart. As he concedes, his remarks may not even represent a consensus from his group. But his views are relevant to the continuing dilemma of urban work and other major questions concerning the Peace Corps.

By **PAUL COWAN**

Guayaquil, Ecuador

Our Peace Corps group was something special, we kept being told during our three months of training at the University of New Mexico. We were, in fact, the most intelligent assemblage of young Americans ever to pass through that particular training site—or so went the refrain. The job we were preparing for was, moreover, of great importance. We were to work in the city government of Guayaquil and live in the city's impoverished *barrios suburbanos*. We would thus find ourselves in a position to communicate the hopes and problems of the poor to the city's officials. Perhaps, as time went on, we would manage also to unite our neighbors into effective pressure groups, and organize them to protest directly if the city's officials remained blind to their obvious plight. "All of the Peace Corps is watching you," our training instructors were always reminding us. "Your success or failure might determine the future of urban community development in Latin America."

The project collapsed within a month of our arrival. There was a new mayor in Guayaquil (the third in six months) and a new city council. They seemed willing to have the Peace Corps work in the *municipio*, but more as menials than as technicians. Members of our group who had been told that their special skills (public administration, mechanics, maintenance of public marketplaces) would be eagerly exploited had only to spend a few weeks in the *municipio* to realize that they were regarded as errand boys—to whom each simple instruction must be repeated in the clearest, slowest Spanish. The regions of decision-making and innovation that they had hoped to inhabit seemed permanently sealed off. Quickly they grew dissatisfied and wandered off in search of other kinds of work.

Then the head of the department of community development, with whom most of us had been assigned, received a scholarship to spend several months in Europe. He returned to Guayaquil to find himself ousted from his job. His successor didn't seem to have much use for the Peace Corps. That left a half dozen more Volunteers stranded, with no real connection to the *municipio*.

Our luck in the *barrios* was not much better. In training we had studied with Volunteers freshly returned from two years in the *campo*. The typical Latin, they informed us, has had little experience with organization. It would be our chore, then, to teach our neighbors how to form committees, and then, that accomplished, to persuade them that civic pressure was an alternative available to them in Guayaquil.

The entire hypothesis was wrong, as we found out when we arrived in the city. The *barrios* here abound in committees whose functions are both social and political. A Volunteer who tries, in halting Spanish, with limited knowledge of local problems, to impress on the people his ideas of democracy appears, more often than not, something between an imperialist and a fool.

Moot organization

So the organization the Peace Corps was supposed to teach is in fact an accepted part of the *barrio's* political life. But no matter how well organized the committees are there is no way for them to gain appreciable political power. Some of them, for example, travel to the *municipio* daily to register their pleas for one of the many necessities of civilized life that poor people here lack. Their plea is always answered, but always after months and months have gone by. The presence of a Peace Corps Volun-

teer has very little effect on this process. Poor people might have a somewhat easier time seeing city officials if they are accompanied by a *gringo*, but rarely do formal exchanges of words bring to the *barrios* the electricity, the water, the filled-in streets, the police protection that is needed.

The fact is that the *municipio*, practically bankrupt, acts about as quickly as it can within the limits of its budget. Its problem is not so much inefficiency or graft or lack of concern for the city's poor as the raw, inescapable fact that it doesn't have the cash. Many wealthy people here rarely pay their taxes. There is not much a Peace Corps Volunteer, without access to American or Ecuadorian power, can do about that.

Our project, then, turned out to be a chimera. Now, after eight months in the city, Volunteers are beginning to head for other parts. Some plan to work elsewere in Ecuador. One has gone home. Others expect to leave before their two years are through.

I would like to list here some of the problems that lie, I think, at the root of our failure. The opinions, of course, are mine alone; many of my fellow Volunteers would disagree with me completely.

There was, from the outset, no analysis that connected the kind of "peaceful revolution" that the Peace Corps dreamed of creating here to the reality that each Volunteer was forced to confront.

Ours was not one of those projects you read about in the coyly modest Peace Corps advertisements. From the start the organization was thinking big. "The Volunteers in Guayaquil might make the difference between peaceful revolution and bloodshed," the staff man who planned the project told some of us one day. And, "The Peace Corps has done more than anyone else in Guayaquil to focus the city's attention on the *barrios suburbanos*." (The fact is that every politician in Ecuador knows that with 300,000 of the nation's 5,000,000 people living in the *barrios*, their problems had better receive some attention.) And, "It is up to your group to create the first really democratic council of poor people in the city's history."

We haven't, of course. In fact a good many of the Volunteers who started out working full time in the *barrios* have found jobs, and even apartments, in the more middle class areas toward the center of town. Most of those who remain teach English, organize groups of youngsters to attend a summer camp the Peace Corps runs, or attend to libraries that they have organized in their *barrios*. A few continue to join their local committees in requesting improvements from the *municipio* but not a single Volunteer feels that such activity provides satisfying work.

We all long ago despaired of sweeping accomplishment, and the staff agrees with us. "Urban community development is unglamorous, tough, slow, frustrating," the director here reminded me after I had suggested we have a conference like the one in which urban community development Volunteers from neighboring countries tried to find a pattern of work that made sense to them. "You can consider yourself successful," he tells frustrated members of our group, "if after two years you have changed two or three lives."

From the many to the few

So the pendulum has swung. If we can't achieve a peaceful revolution then we must content ourselves with influencing the values of a very few people. But aren't each of these alternatives extreme? Each is a label, a hope, a slogan rather than an objective which can be discussed and refined according to the actual situation in which the Volunteer happens to find himself. Hence the Volunteers, who cannot inspire the peaceful revolution for which the Peace Corps originally hoped or remain satisfied changing a few lives as the organization presently suggests, find their frustrations constantly increasing. As they begin to doubt their desire and their ability to work in foreign parts, their usefulness to the poor people they are supposed to be serving quickly melts away.

Many of the Volunteers, recruited initially to work in the *municipio*, entered the Peace Corps to lend their professional skills to countries that seem to need specialists badly. After the *municipio* project fell through they were forced to put their talents up for auction; few of them found any willing takers. The fact about this society seems to be that very few foreign Volunteers are considered professional by the salaried local people in their fields.

But most skilled Peace Corps people know that when they return home the competition in their fields will be terrific. The idea of abandoning their profession, which is, after all, the work they enjoy most, and spending two years as a marginally employed community developer leaves many of them profoundly depressed. They feel cheated by the Peace Corps, the victims of false advertising. Yet the country staff seems reluctant to believe that this sense of being misused is legitimate. The ideal Volunteer is, after all, flexible, a team player.

This is the logical outgrowth of the Peace Corps' initial emphasis on rural community development: in a small town, where functions are not yet differentiated, a Volunteer must be willing to do just about anything. The people who applied to work on such

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ON THE COVER: Venezuela correspondent Donald R. Anderson took this photo of Volunteer Chip Peterson teaching a swimming class during a summer sports clinic (page 12).

projects apparently wanted that experience, but it does not suit the professionals who find themselves more or less stranded here in Guayaquil. As more professionals enter the organization they will have to be provided with suitable work. Otherwise, as soon as their disillusion reaches the campus grapevine, skilled people will quit applying and the Peace Corps will become, once again, an organization of A.B. generalists.

Just as you cannot recruit a campus activist to a Peace Corps whose rhetoric is that of the Mississippi Summer Project and expect him to be satisfied with the hope of influencing a few people who live amid terrible poverty, so you cannot expect an architect or engineer who has been told that his professional skills will be of use to an entire country to remain content, once abroad, to run errands for bureaucrats who wish that he would go home.

The fact that many of the Volunteers in our group find themselves virtually unemployed makes the question of whether Ecuador really wanted us in the first place an inescapable one. It is not, after all, that we are unskilled, or that we haven't tried. But there seem to be few people here who want to buy our brand of social change.

Did the Ecuadorian government, in fact, actually request us? It is no secret that in many parts of the world the Peace Corps is just one part of a large American foreign aid package. The feeling among Volunteers here is that the American government's desire to have local people meet its idealistic young lies at the root of much of our work here: that we are an inexpensive, effective public relations device. We wonder, then, just how much latitude Ecuadorian officials have to choose what they are sent, or to evaluate what they receive.

Certainly many of the programs—not ours alone—undergo huge transformations between training and the field. The work for which the Volunteer was so assiduously prepared back in the U.S. simply does not exist here in the field. The Volunteer feels estranged not only from the agency to which he was assigned but also, eventually, from the entire country that seems to be rejecting him so cruelly. How much do these misunderstandings have to do with the circumstances under which the programs were negotiated?

It seems to me that at the least the Peace Corps country staff must be sure that as wide a range of Ecuadorians as possible is involved in planning projects, and that they feel absolutely free to reject what is offered. Certainly it is the responsibility of regional and country directors to be certain that local officials will have practical uses for the Volunteers whose services they are offered. For the truth is that not even the most intelligent programmers from our highly analytic society can create work for Volunteers, skilled or unskilled, if the host country does not want them.

One thing is sure. Far too many Volunteers in Guayaquil, who once thought that they would be intimately connected with the city's development, are now running around loose, looking for whatever work they can find. The situation does not benefit anyone. It foments discontent among the Volunteers and lends credibility to a feeling many Guayaquilenos have that (as one friend of mine put it) "You are a group of rejects from American society who have come down here to feed yourselves off our abundant agriculture."

"It's not only that I'm not making any kind of a dent here—I expected that—but I don't feel part of anything bigger than myself," wrote a friend who is a Volunteer in Panama City.

No sense of belonging

Somehow that simple statement told me more about myself than all the notes, letters, diary entries that I had written during the previous six months. No part of anything. Not even certain that as an employee of the American government, requested by a government that must maintain something like the status quo, I am working in the interest of the people I came down here to help. Here, then, is another metaphor. Am I not like the white man who, having travelled South to help the Negro, remained in a Mississippi ghetto organizing Boy Scout groups and soliciting holiday gifts from rich white folks without ever once challenging the institution of segregation?

I did spend three summers in the civil rights movement trying to do something about segregation in the South. A July afternoon in Mississippi is every bit as hot as the worst of the rainy season here in Guayaquil. We slept six in a room that summer, most of us stretched out on blankets on a hard floor without a fan (here I live with my wife in a three-room apartment high enough above the street to catch a little breeze). It was dangerous there, too. The house we stayed in was sometimes shot at; every night we received telephoned threats from a crank. Finally, the next autumn when just a few civil rights workers remained, someone planted four sticks of dynamite under the kitchen and blew the place to bits.

But the work there wasn't much more exciting than what we do here. During an earlier summer in Maryland I had spent an absurdly large part of my three-month vacation teaching French grammar to a tenth grader who had never, in her segregated school, learned the difference between an adjective and an adverb in English. Yet it never once occurred to me to ask whether I was doing something important. I had never in my life felt so useful, so fulfilled.

Here I feel irrelevant to the society in which I've been placed, and worse, when I stride through the *barrios*, at 6'2" towering over every Ecuadorian I pass, I feel like a damn colonialist. Can one help it? It's a physical thing. The house I live in, like all Peace Corps houses, is better than anything any of my neighbors will ever be able to afford. I spend more money on food each day than most of my neighbors do in a week. The shirts I put on so casually every morning are the object of their intense admiration, envy. How can I pretend to the poor people of Guayaquil that I am one of them, a neighbor who happens to live next door? The sham is recognized instantly.

There is something still more insidious about the relationship. Based on a sham, it makes mutual disillusion inevitable. The poor people here, I grow certain, will never be able to enjoy the kind of change I had planned for them. That *gringo*, they think, will never be able to provide the material aid that presence promises.

To explain my disappointment I blame the people I work with; to explain theirs they blame me. Each little mistake they make, each difference between their culture and mine, becomes magnified. I find myself wondering whether this horrible poverty is not after all the fault of the

poor. After all, the wealthy Ecuadorians live centuries away from me. To sit in the *barrios suburbanos* and recall their role in the national drama requires an imaginative leap of which, after frustrating days in this hot city, I am simply not capable. Far easier to blame the raggedy neighborhood children whose screeching games constantly interrupt my tossing, tropical sleep.

The hard questions

And what of my neighbor? I have been employed, after all, to do community development. With him it's a spare-time job. I am in bed when he leaves for work in the morning; out drinking when he must turn in at night. Does he not wonder about the comforts I enjoy, and begin to doubt the integrity of this Volunteer, his neighbor, who seems to live in such luxury?

Although I write all of this in the first person it rings true, I am sure, for other Volunteers. What ideals are we serving, after all? Whose interests? Here we are in Guayaquil (and in how many other cities of the world?) without much work to do, uncertain that the country wants us, privately cursing the people we came to help. Usually when we try to come to grips with these problems within the framework of the Peace Corps, we are sent to the staff doctor—that psychiatrist's manqué—or told that we are down with culture shock for sure. If we press the matter further we are called troublemakers or reminded that an hour spent in self-evaluation is an hour spent outside the *barrios suburbanos*, or told that a Volunteer who questions his work and the assumptions behind it is undercutting morale and betraying the Peace Corps ideal.

Is the same thing happening in other parts of the Peace Corps world? If so, if our failures everywhere remain as unexamined as our failure here, then we have to wait only a very few years for the Peace Corps to become the property of this decade's historians, its demise the object of their unsparing scrutiny.

Paul Cowan was a reporter for the Village Voice *before he joined the Peace Corps early in 1966. He holds an A.B. from Harvard University and has done graduate work at the University of Chicago.*

Photo by Fred Baldwin

The setting is India and the situation is training. Talking to the host national at right are Patricia Hostetter, who at the time was training for a food production program, and Volunteer Sondra Kinder (at left). Miss Hostetter's group spent six weeks in California before going to Jagraon, Punjab, for final training.

Peace Corps steps up overseas training

Last winter a country director was appalled to find potential Volunteers for his tropical African program preparing themselves for service in snow-blanketed New England. It was an unusual Peace Corps twist on Sigmund Freud's indictment of child-rearing: "We train them for the tropics and send them to the polar ice cap."

The trainee of 1967 is more likely to find himself training for the tropics in the tropics, not in a simulated climate or cultural environment but in the very country where he will serve as a Volunteer. He will be closer to the "real thing" than most would-be Volunteers have ever been.

In-country training represents another thrust in agency efforts to do a better job of preparing Volunteers. The experience of several overseas training projects last year encouraged broader application this year. An estimated one of every five trainees will have some portion of their training overseas in 1967.

The overseas component will last from three to twelve weeks and in at least two summer programs, for

Pedaling in Jagraon: trainees Willie Parkerton (foreground) and Phillip Crump tour the local bazaar. They are now Volunteers in Punjab, the state where they trained.

Photo by Steve Power

Ghana and Micronesia, the entire training will be conducted in the host country.

Director Jack Vaughn has endorsed the increased emphasis on in-country training and he says: "Until a Volunteer is exposed to the environment, we're not going to have effective training or selection. All of the real pros—Volunteers, staff, training people—tell us in-country training is better."

Advantages seen in overseas training include:

- The opportunity for more realism in technical studies, while exposing trainees to cross-cultural experiences under learning situations.
- Direct involvement of the overseas staff and Volunteers with trainees, resulting in increased accuracy in job placement.
- More understanding on the part of the trainee as to what he can expect and how he can perform overseas, and better assessment by the Peace Corps on what the Volunteer is capable of.

These anticipated benefits are believed by most Peace Corps officials to far outweigh the increased administrative burdens that accompany overseas training. However, this year's in-country preparation is still heavy on experimentation, and the agency hopes to obtain a better view of the many problems as well as the prospects.

One surprising example is language. Language learning overseas has been less successful than at U.S. training sites, and the Office of Training hopes to solve this problem during the summer, along with problems of continuity in training objectives, assessment and training staff in the move from domestic to overseas sites.

More in-house training, too

Future Volunteers in Micronesia will have the unique distinction of being trained completely in-country and in-house. This will be accomplished through a Peace Corps training center to be established in the Pacific islands.

A temporary center is being set up on Udot island in the Truk Lagoon. A group of 240 trainees are scheduled to begin training there in June, and several hundred more are expected there in a fall cycle.

Like the training centers in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, the Micronesia site will be staffed primarily by the agency instead of by an outside contractor.

Another Peace Corps-run training center will open in June on St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands. These new sites, added to the St. Croix and Puerto Rico centers, mean that more Volunteers than ever before will be trained directly by the Peace Corps. In-house training capacity this year will increase from 9 per cent of all trainees to 14 per cent.

New programs for Ceylon, Lesotho

The Peace Corps will return to Ceylon next fall after an absence of 2½ years. The new program calls for 81 Volunteers to participate in food production and distribution and in nutrition and health. Training for the program is scheduled to begin in August.

The first group of Volunteers in Ceylon was comprised of teachers and physical education instructors. The host government did not seek additional Volunteers after this 34-member group completed service in 1964.

Another new program will be in the Kingdom of Lesotho, formerly Basutoland, where 88 Volunteers will serve in education, rural development, health and agriculture beginning next winter.

Directing this program will be David Sherwood, 26, who was a Volunteer in Sierra Leone and more recently a training official. Lesotho became independent last October. It is encircled by the Republic of South Africa, and it has almost one million residents.

Five years overseas

Does Dottie Dunlap hold the record for longevity as a Volunteer? She's been one for almost five years.

Miss Dunlap entered training in June, 1962, and went to the Philippines as a teacher in September, 1962. She's been posted at the Iloilo Normal College ever since. She re-enrolled for two years in 1964 and has had two extensions since mid-1966. She thinks she might come home in 1967.

Prestige, anyone?

A recent survey of student attitudes toward occupations shows that doctors, corporation vice presidents, lawyers, college professors, senators, artists, bankers and chemists have more prestige than Peace Corps Volunteers.

Among liberal arts majors, Volunteers are tied for ninth place in the vocational prestige ratings—alongside advertising executives.

However, undergraduate A.B. generalists did grant Volunteers more prestige than magazine writers, mechanical engineers, social workers, high school teachers, accountants, personnel directors, buyers, civil servants, wholesale and retail grocers and insurance salesmen.

Volunteers ranked even lower in prestige among business and economics majors (13th) and science and technical majors (10th).

These ratings were developed out of a study of 1,000 students on 18 American campuses by a committee of the American College Personnel Association. The results were reported in the Journal of College Placement.

Volunteer dies

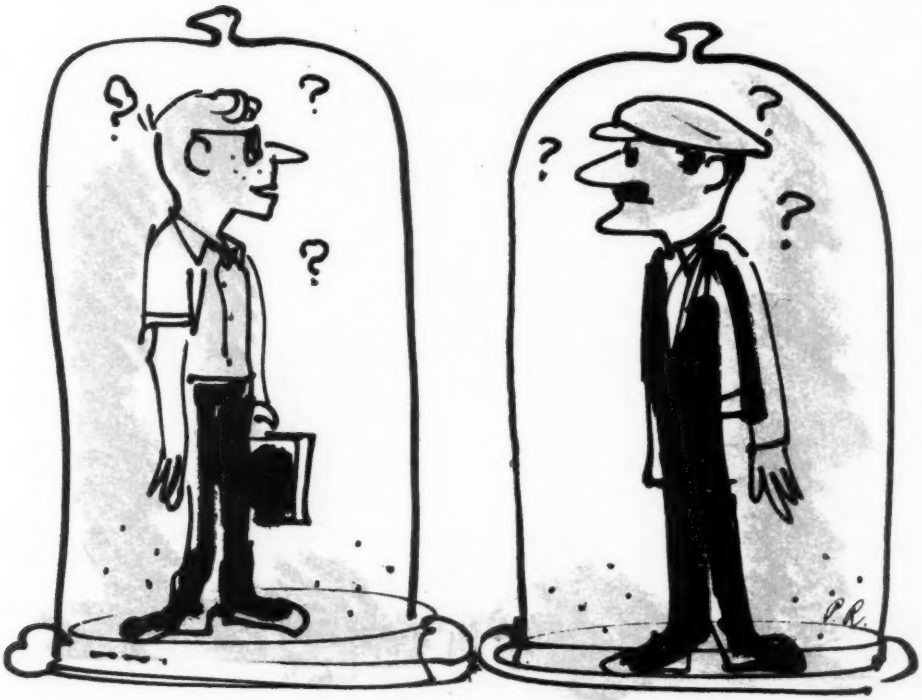
James H. Stout, 21, a laboratory technician in Safi, Morocco, died in a Casablanca hospital April 3 of injuries suffered in a one-car accident the day before.

Mary E. Pichon, one of two other Volunteers riding in the car, was seriously injured and was evacuated to a U.S. Air Force Hospital in Germany. A third Volunteer passenger, Janice Williams, was only slightly hurt.

Stout attended the University of Tennessee, Wittenberg University and the College Conservatory of Music in Cincinnati before joining the Peace Corps last year. Services and burial were held in Cincinnati.

Agency report

A limited number of copies of the Peace Corps Fifth Annual Report are available to Volunteers from the Publications and Information Center, Office of Volunteer Support, Peace Corps, Washington, D. C. 20525. The 85-page report covers agency activities from July 1, 1965 through June 30, 1966.



Culture as an invisible prison

By JERRY LEACH

Americans are bewildering creatures in the eyes of a Turk. The reasons for this are cultural, and highly interesting. As children we pick up through unconscious imitation of adults most of the "rules" governing interpersonal relations in our culture. These built-in behavioral patterns are so taken for granted that we are not aware of their existence. When they are not followed, we sense uncomfortably that something is not as it should be.

Take, for example, the response of an American airman to a long-haired hitchhiker in Ankara. "I don't know why," he said, "but I just want to bust one of those guys in the nose." Here a tough type, accustomed to physical solutions to his problems, felt unsettled and threatened by something that couldn't be more harmless, another person's hair. Why? Because one of the most fundamental "rules" of social life in our society had been broken. One of the basic signals by which we make concrete and visible the differentiation of the sexes had been confused. Such signals are the means by which we provide order in our interpersonal relations. Confusion, then, unconsciously threatens the very foundations of social order.

Our reactions to this kind of situation are widely varied. Three common types of responses are admonition or punishment of the offender, the demanding of an explanation or, most often among peers, gossip.

Some conspicuous categories of these cultural "rules" or signal systems are: how to dress for all roles and occasions, how to eat acceptably, whom to joke with, whom to be respectful of, what places one can or can't go to, what subjects to talk about with what kinds of people, and even what vocabulary to use. These are just to mention a few. Turks naturally have such "rules" too. Theirs are most often *quite* different from ours. The similarities between our cultural patterns and theirs are, in my opinion, superficial. Their system, though, like ours, has an internal consistency of its own. It is the clashing of two divergent behavioral systems that causes each side to view the other as "bewildering," "unreasonable" or "uninhibited."

The wide divergence between Turkish and American patterns of behavior, belief and value is a definite liability in Peace Corps work. This liability is one that will not be overcome by a naive belief in "good will," although that belief will help. The crucial question is attitude. One must adopt a way of looking at things that seeks explanation for everything that's happening cross-culturally. For the American side of things, this amounts to introspection that seeks to find the

silent signals and hidden order in the American system. In relation to the Turkish side, this amounts to observation and an attempt to discover the internal logic in the Turkish system. This is not an easy process. In fact, American college graduates, in spite of their education, are not very well prepared for it. Those who do develop this approach, I think, find Turkey an easier place to live in.

I wasn't a good example of the approach I've outlined here. Not a single day passed without my painfully experiencing some Turk's violating the "natural and logical" way of doing things. At first it was staring, then it was abrupt "no" answers and arrogance from petty officialdom. Later it was shattering horns, and still later continual interruptions while talking. Each little violation of our "natural" way brought irritation, sometimes anger. Rapidly these irritations built up to an explosiveness that was too easily provoked. This latent tension marred my stay in Turkey. Surprisingly, despite my awareness in the abstract of cross-cultural problems and differences, I found my reactions to these differences hostile. Intellectual perception was not enough to neutralize the unpleasant emotional reaction that accompanied not doing something "my" way. In other words, the responses that I had learned to thousands of situational stimuli placed me in a kind of invisible prison. I learned how to open the doors in these invisible walls only through trial and error.

The Peace Corps then should rethink the tacit and absurd assumption that Volunteers know enough about their own culture to enter into the delicate process of analyzing, understanding and operating within another. The throw-them-in-the-water-and-let-them-learn-to-swim attitude leaves the Volunteer weakest where he needs his greatest strength—in dealing with

Turks face to face. This visual attitude results eventually in the death of many good intentions and good ideas among Volunteers. The learn-by-error process is not completely necessary. The naive belief in "good will" is, in fact, harmful. Volunteers could benefit greatly from a training program that analyzed in detail what happens and why in both Turkish and American cultures. Although this approach is no panacea it would present the basic tools for dealing with Turkish society.

Stop, look, listen

Turning to cross-cultural trouble spots, I first think of transportation. Riding in urban Turkey can be nerve-racking. I did enjoy it more, though, when I discovered that there was some order more refined than survival of the fittest. Observation of the internal workings of the pattern of driving became, indeed, fascinating. I gradually realized that city driving was not producing the number of accidents that I thought it deserved. Things fell into place when someone tipped me off to the deceptively simple, unconcious system that the poorly educated, uncitified Turkish driver has devised. The rule is to watch out for the guy ahead. The driver's job is to guard against and dodge anything that the fellow in front might do. Looking back, signalling, and looking in all directions before entering traffic are anathema to the system. The foreign drivers who do such things actually gum up the impatient split-second timing of the process. Without knowing this, what we incorrectly experience in Turkish traffic is something like the every-man-for-himself situation in amusement-park crash cars.

Bodily contact involves an interesting cross-cultural danger spot. In our society touching another person is in most situations taboo. In Turkey, though, a full bus pushes people into atom-splitting embrace, and no one really seems to mind. In addition, some social situations require bodily contact between members of the same

sex as a sign of friendship. This entails being held by the elbow, interlocking arms while walking, kissing on both cheeks, walking shoulder-to-shoulder, being kissed on the hand, talking at unnaturally close range (a kind of psychic contact for us), or occasionally holding little fingers. Our reflex is to pull away in shock from such advances. The Turk sees such withdrawal as cold or superior. This is, I think, an excellent example of how cross-cultural problems can arise from a lack of awareness of one's own behavioral patterns.

Cues on queuing

Closely allied to the problem of physical contact is the business of ranking patterns in lines or crowds. Ankara is gradually learning to give some order in entering buses. Conscious lining up, though, is still a rather unnatural cultural graft and rapidly breaks down without an attendant. This is particularly true when seats are scarce. In unqueued situations, for example a bus stop, Americans uncomfortably experience pushing and cutting in. Our built-in ranking pattern gives priority according to closeness to the door. Breaking the pattern by barging ahead is rude and irritating. Turks observe no such rule up to the point of one person's pushing much harder than others. Reaction even to this might be only a curt word of admonition from a well-dressed man.

Ranking problems occur also in business relationships. In receiving attention as a customer, Americans expect service on the "first come, first served" basis. This reflects our egalitarian attitudes toward other individuals in impersonal situations. The order of arrival in a restaurant, post office, or sidewalk cafe determines the order of service. This applies in Turkey as well until two or more people of clearly different status simultaneously seek service. At such a time status considerations, particularly age and apparent affluence, become the determining factor. This causes occasional service "out of turn" to our way of thinking.

Time is another source of conflicting cultural signals. In urban America five minutes is the basic unit of meaning in time. Five, ten, fifteen, thirty and forty-five minute waiting periods evoke rapidly increasing irritation. In Ankara waiting is not uncommon in both friendly and formal situations. Turkish time is built on considerably longer meaningful units. Waiting thirty to sixty minutes for a well-placed official is normal and should not be considered insulting. Such treatment is common for all. Highly valued time is, after all, a by-product of industrial society.

Notice that all these danger zones—riding, touching, crowding, ranking and waiting—pertain primarily to dealing with *anonymous* Turks. Like all cities, Ankara conducts most of its daily business impersonally. This means that the Volunteer must relate to hundreds of people whom he may see only once or, at most, exchange a few sentences with on occasions. I contend that most of the problems of getting along in Ankara lie with this group, the anonymous Turks.

Why is this? The answer seems to involve three reasons. First, business is not so consumer-oriented that the customer's good opinion or continued patronage are valued as high up the scale as in our culture. Consequently, the customer is not always right, or even catered to. Business relations in most of Turkey can, in fact, be viewed best as the reverse of ours. In principle the dealer controls scarce resources which the buyers must compete for. The dealer then dispenses his goods or services to those who win his favor. Arguments often result between Volunteers and waiters, taxi drivers, post office clerks, landlords and butchers because Volunteers unthinkingly follow the American pattern of business relations. Naturally assuming their dominance, Volunteers expect and demand services over and above what the dealers customarily give. The fantasy that Turks are "out to cheat the foreigner" often results from this.

Second, impersonality removes the Turk from the key restraining influence on his social behavior, neighborhood and family opinion. He no longer has to defend his conduct before the all-powerful tribunal of gossip; therefore he doesn't pay the usual social penalties for a wrong act. Third, their type of impersonality is just different from ours, yet we treat it as if it were the same. Our failure lies in not analyzing it and not learning to act on *its* principles. It is surprising how many Volunteers unknowingly demand that Turks act like Americans.

The distinction between the anonymous Turk and the "known" one is, I think, a useful analytical tool for making sense of cross-cultural trouble spots. Away from anonymous Turks, the Volunteer can expect "good will" to be his most valuable asset.

A field for study

A completely different kind of danger zone is closely related to impersonal relations and the opinion that living in Ankara is not a "real Peace Corps experience." Turkey's capital is admittedly a big, fast, busy city. It unquestionably cannot offer urbanized Americans a radically different *physical* environment and challenge. The Volunteer who wants primarily that from the Peace Corps should be in rural Turkey. But for every Volunteer not so definite about one goal, any Turkish city offers an exciting,

challenging and radically different field of *psychological* experience.

My point is that every Ankara Volunteer must attack his environment first as a *field of investigation* and second as a *field of work*. Village Volunteers do this by contacting people and "getting around" during their first months in a site. Only through the first step, investigation, can one properly define and approach the second, work. Approaching one's term of service in this way should lead to a much clearer idea of the limitations and possibilities of effecting change in the work environment. The careful selection of one's battlefields is absolutely essential. The natural reflex is to resist everything about Turkish society that one doesn't agree with or to give up in cynicism. Indiscriminate resistance dangerously undercuts one's acceptance into the work group. In other words, most of what one doesn't like just has to be accepted. Only in this way can one hope for results in the important areas that one chooses to attack.

No 'Welcome Wagon'

How then does one approach Ankara as a field of investigation? Fundamentally this means adopting the mental framework toward cross-cultural relations that was suggested earlier. Next comes actually establishing a range of social contacts. Here many problems lie in making American assumptions on how the newcomer gets into community life. Broadly speaking, in American society the responsibility of getting new members into the community lies mainly with the community itself. The ice-breaking of introductions, visits, and social invitations tends to flow from community to newcomer. Similarly, the Volunteer in small-town Turkey often finds Turkish culture streaming irrepressibly into his living room. However, Turkish culture does *not* stream into an Ankara living room. The Volunteer must seek it. The faltering point is that many Volunteers are not aware of the subtle role change from passive receiver to *active seeker* that Ankara necessitates. Without this awareness it would be easy to live a Peace Corps term of service in Ankara and never develop a circle of Turkish friends.

"Seeking" friends subtly crosses the boundary of acceptability in American culture. We regard pushy attempts at making friends as ungenuine. Such reserve may unnecessarily impede Volunteers from initiating contacts across the culture barrier. Two other causes for holding back deserve mention. The first is Turkish, and it does undoubtedly take considerable resolve to break the ice with people when one is struggling with the language. The second is that meeting new Turks can easily be stiff and formal because Turks have a rather rigid mode of formal behavior. But a rich variety of cross-cultural experience can *only* come through Turkish contacts, so one must, in Ankara at least, play the role of active seeker.

What does one do then to integrate himself into Turkish society? The obvious starting point is one's job group. Within it one would naturally start with the younger set. Breaking the ice should begin immediately upon arrival. Introductions and the usual amenities are the beginning. Conversation should follow

whenever convenient. Reading or cliquishly grouping up with other Volunteers during rest breaks are anathema to the process. Turks regard one wrapped up in a book as aloof and disinterested. They see him as bored and unhappy with his situation. Reading has a cultural interpretation to Turks that is strikingly different from ours, and it can be a negative factor in one's efforts to "break in." If one strikes mutual ground with a colleague or two, the next step lies again with the Volunteer. The possibilities at this point are an invitation to a movie, meeting at one of the popular sidewalk cafes, having an evening together at the Volunteer's apartment, or an invitation to supper. (It goes without saying that males invite males and females invite females.) Waiting for invitations was 100 per cent unsuccessful in my case.

Initial rapport with two or three interested Turks has a wave-like effect. New opportunities are always arising with friends of friends. One word of caution, though. Many contacts don't work. In fact, expectations of finding sparkling personalities our style in even every tenth skin are unfounded.

These suggestions presuppose that there is a younger set in your job group. If there isn't, the obvious point of departure is the older group. Approaching them is expectedly slower and more formal. Invitations in most cases would be out of place. In this situation, visiting, I think, is the answer. Going to their house first is an excellent start. It is, indeed, a very high compliment in Turkish eyes. The response is likely to be an invitation to a tea. Here again the multiplier effect of friends meeting more friends goes into action. Volunteers have been flagrant about not going to teas. They are often boring, it's true, but they are the Turk's primary institution of polite behavior. If viewed as a laboratory for studying the formal Turk, their customs and conversation can be surprisingly revealing. When one is being complimented by a tea invitation, failure to attend is not likely to be forgotten by the host.

Loners, please

The next question might naturally be what happens when job contacts don't work. Since friendships are struck most easily between contemporaries, a Volunteer would turn to Turks between 20 and 30 years old. Most of them would be older university students. Several suggestions for meeting some of them are: going to an evening lecture or an open forum, getting help in looking up something in a library, or patronizing one of the sidewalk cafes downtown. (I found this last approach successful.) Asking for help on a point in Turkish is a golden lead for conversation. Two words of caution here: first, only males can use these techniques, and second, do this sort of thing by yourself. Travelling with a group of Volunteers is the kiss of death in meeting Turks.

In closing, let me return briefly to my distinction between the anonymous and the known Turks. If my thesis is correct—that anonymous Turks create the really troublesome areas of interpersonal relations—then one would want to turn anonymous contacts as much as possible into known ones. One can do this to a limited extent by regularly patronizing a favorite waiter, hairdresser, barber, taxi driver, grocer or copper dealer. This involves striking up a friendly conversation, sometimes drinking tea together, and dropping by occasionally to say hello. With this approach satisfactory business relationships are much more likely than when one deals at random. Cross-class social contacts, hard to come by anywhere, are again much more possible when one deals through regular patronage.

In summary, Volunteers in Ankara are victims of their own unthinking assumptions about social behavior. The best defense against this that I can see is the adoption of the attitude of the observer. The observer seeks foremost to discover the principles of social behavior and the value system that they rest upon. For any Volunteer this means that *explanation* is his first job and *change* his second.

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Summer projects: A Peace Corps for all seasons

Photo by Thomas Sennett

Fifty per cent of all Peace Corps Volunteers are employed in elementary, secondary, university, adult, vocational or physical education. They may be faced with as little as two months and as much as six months of summer vacation during their tours—depending on when they arrive on the job and how long school sessions last. Most of them employ a portion of that time in vacation projects (which we shall refer to as summer projects to differentiate from shorter holiday periods).

The Peace Corps Handbook describes summer and other vacation projects as the "something extra" that Volunteers bring to their overseas assignments. Traditionally, these undertakings have fallen under one of three broad categories: job-related in the specific sense (such as curriculum writing workshops), community-related (organizing summer camps), or self-enrichment (language workshops).

In an attempt to clarify this "something extra" and to share information about the diverse vacation labors of teachers, THE VOLUNTEER called upon its correspondents to examine both the theory and application of summer work in their respective countries (for a sampling of projects, see page 16). The responses of correspondents from 21 education programs indicated that there was not only diversity but, with a few notable exceptions such as the Philippines, confusion and contradiction about summer projects in the Peace Corps.

Here are some of the classic discrepancies:

Summer projects give teachers a chance to get to know and to become involved in their communities. This implies that they haven't been doing it to some extent all year long.

Summer projects give teachers a much-needed break from the classroom. So does the summer vacation itself. This doesn't mean that teachers have to spend the vacation doing something completely unrelated to their jobs.

Summer projects improve the Volunteer's proficiency in his primary job assignment. It is the Volunteer's responsibility to upgrade his job or language skills on his own time. He's already been through one training period. His service should be spent serving.

Summer projects give Volunteers a chance to see other parts of their host countries. Summer projects endear Volunteers to the members of their community who see every other teacher leaving the village at the end of the school year.

Option to loaf

Summer projects give imaginative Volunteers the opportunity to employ their individual responsibility to the fullest. They give unimaginative Volunteers the opportunity to spend a great deal of time goldbricking.

The contradictions inherent in these semantic variances illustrate

the lack of clarity that prevails in the agency about the purpose of summer projects, which developed haphazardly and remain the stepchild of most programs. After six years of experience, it is appropriate to review not only the philosophy but the operation of these special efforts which consume a considerable chunk of Volunteer time and labor.

One of the major discrepancies is that while many staff members and Volunteers strongly endorse summer projects for one or more of the reasons listed above, the projects themselves are given a cursory amount of agency time in terms of selection and planning. This generates a feeling among many Volunteers that the summer project is a "make work" scheme.

The Volunteer is told that a summer project is an essential part of his experience, a building block in a two-year program. Yet this feeling of importance somehow escaped staff members when they were planning the Volunteer's job, or thinking of his total contribution—for they didn't even mention a summer project in the program description.

At most, the Office of Training was asked to provide the prospective Volunteer with "secondary skills"—this happens in about half of the current program descriptions, but few of them mention a specific summer use for these skills. A sample scattershot program description: "Volunteers with commercial, sports recreation, handicraft and agricultural skills will find numerous curricular and extracurricular opportunities for employment of these skills."

Skepticism about the usefulness of summer work is amplified when Volunteers observe staff members okaying just about any scheme which is remotely justifiable in the framework of the Peace Corps Act or assigning "caught" Volunteers to summer projects when they could enforce "policy" and charge the Volunteers with annual leave or leave without pay.

Field staff is not entirely to blame for being wishy-washy about summer projects. Several regional officers in Washington have pointed with pride to the fact that their field staff has complete programming autonomy in the area of summer work; it is here, one is told, where field staff members face no bureaucratic guidelines from Washington; here where they can experiment at will; here—a breath of air—where the job is completely unstructured. True, there are some historical directives insisting on summer projects, and the field staff does get the idea that Washington feels they are worthwhile. But the field has the last word.

Power is unknown

Yet unless Peace Corps operations in the host country reflect a tradition of organized summer projects, as in the Philippines, the field staff's "autonomy" in the matter may come as a surprise. The Staff

Training Center devotes no set block of time to the discussion of summer projects. There is no hint of what they might accomplish, what are good ones and bad ones, how they should be approached. Among readings given to potential staff members during their training period is a book on teaching programs which contains 2½ pages on summer projects. One of the two brief articles sums up the subject: "For project ideas, check with your leading citizens, your Peace Corps satrap, or veteran PCV. Let your imagination be your guide." The staff trainee may or may not read this. It is not necessarily discussed.

Nor is there any central reference file to which the staff member might go for information. In the most recent comprehensive look at vacation projects, done by an evaluator in 1963, it was suggested that a clearinghouse for ideas and know-how on summer work might be useful to insure a store of expertise. Nothing has been done on an agency-wide basis.

Isolated trends in training during the past few years have reduced the information gap somewhat, at least for Volunteers. More focus has been given to the Volunteer's "whole" commitment to the "whole job" overseas. Training now looks upon creating within the prospective Volunteer "a feeling for and identification with the Peace Corps" as a regular component of the training program. To this end, the office is working with training project directors and liaison persons from Peace Corps Washington to generate this feeling in their dealings with trainees.

Some other voices in the agency favor an end to the patchwork approach to summer projects. One Peace Corps official looks at it this way:

A misnomer

"The term 'summer projects' shouldn't even exist. We're getting off the track when we make a distinction between summer and the rest of the year; when we draw duty lines for Volunteer teachers . . . There are summertime activities, and these activities should be a natural outgrowth of the teacher's regular job. If a teacher is doing an effective job during the school year, he won't have any problem figuring out what to do during the summer—he will know what needs to be done. If the teaching program has the broad educational goals it should have there will be room for experimentation and individual project planning for summer work."

This theory is laudable in theoretical terms. It is a testimony to the autonomy of the Volunteer. But how well does it work? One former country director, who had experience with teaching programs, suggested to THE VOLUNTEER that the self-starting approach is workable for only 15 per cent of Volunteer teachers.

Two-thirds of the correspondents who answered inquiries from THE VOLUNTEER said that the choice and planning of a summer project had been a problem for Volunteers in their countries. The following four impediments were cited:

- By vacation time, Volunteers temporarily run out of steam and lack motivation; they don't consider summer projects very important.
- Volunteers lack imagination, initiative, resources and the necessary time to plan projects.
- Volunteers don't consider vacation time of sufficient length to accomplish anything.
- Volunteers lack the necessary support of host country officials or Peace Corps staff to carry through specific summer programs.

Volunteers who cite the above reasons for planning difficulty, especially the first three, are not looking at summer activities as a natural outgrowth of their regular jobs. They are looking at them as something distinct in themselves. And when they're looking down the barrel toward summer, with a staff inquiry about their summer project plans lying on top of the kitchen table, many are not able to see a summer project as a "building block in a two-year program."

The Peace Corps needs to skirt semantics and put some teeth in its theory that teaching is a year-round job that calls for a whole commitment; that "summer projects" are called so only because they are activities which take place in the summertime and not because they are "something extra"—divorced from the teacher's regular job or loosely related through slack goals. "Broad educational goals" are only a beginning, and are liable to prove a hindrance (in that almost anything can be justified under them) if they aren't accompanied by some solid programming suggestions.

Mutual interests

Summer projects and Peace Corps programming should get together. They can do a lot for each other.

The first thing a Peace Corps programmer (or programming team) can do is consider some facts. There is summer. Teachers will not be in their classrooms. What they do during the summer will be different from what they do the rest of the year.

A programmer who thinks in terms of a "whole job" should keep the whole year in mind. Supposedly, goals are never more clearly stated, alternatives never more sharply defined, than when a programmer, having researched with host country officials the development needs of the country and decided upon ways in which the Peace Corps can contribute to the priorities, writes a conclusive program plan for a Volunteer project. Given the scope of the information at hand, this is the time to think of summer activities.

This is also the time to reexamine the country's leave policy to see what effect it might have on the program goals and how the Volunteer's personal needs can be served coincident with those goals. Summer projects should not be expected to accomplish what leave is designed for: a change of scene, a chance to learn the area, a pause for refreshing.

Summer program planning combined with regular program planning would insure, to the best of the agency's ability, a consistency of goals and the greater possibility of a maximum contribution from the Volunteer. It would provide a continuity of projects, a moving away from a one-shot effort toward an integrated two-year activity. It would save valuable staff time which is spent examining and discussing isolated proposals and coordinating projects in mid-stream.

It would help take the onus of "busy work" off summer activities in that the Volunteer would complete training with a clearer idea of what was expected of him in terms of a "whole commitment." It would help training to instill this idea in the prospective Volunteer by giving that office something more tangible to work with. And it would help the Volunteer to adapt his "whole" task to his own particular site and circumstances by giving him the chance to choose those aspects of his regular job which might apply to his summer work, and to anticipate how those aspects might be approached at the summer's end.

What the summer project is, or can be, depends on the flexibility of the country programmer. He may see value in using the period as a testing time for a program alternative.

For example, if the general program goal is the improvement of the country's educational system and, toward that end, Volunteers have been programmed to teach math and science in secondary schools, they might, also toward that end, train teachers during the summer.

Or, the programmer might embrace the "self-enrichment" theory that any activity which helps make a Volunteer better at his job is justifiable as a summer activity. He might not see any reason to deviate from the three established categories of job-related, community-related and self-enrichment projects. The important thing is that within each category he will see good types of projects and bad types, some coincident with program goals and others only remotely related, kinds of projects that might work in country X but not in country Y. It is his job to go through a research and examination process, talking to Volunteers, discarding and choosing options and, finally, record his choices in a planning or training document.

Cleaning house

Obviously, his choices cannot be too specific or limiting. Program directions change. Volunteer job situations differ. But a lot of ancient summer projects of little value have not been eliminated. Summer project reports are still tucked away without being scrutinized for comprehensive program value. The "project sense" of veteran Volunteers is often not given enough consideration.

The programmer can set up summer guidelines which chart a direction in thinking. He can list a number of specific projects which might be effectively employed within those guidelines. It should not be a potpourri of chancey projects—making the listing a meaningless exercise. Summer projects deserve to be based on planning as sound as that used for the program itself.

Conversely, summer efforts can greatly assist the programming process. Summer guidelines or alternatives should not prevent self-starting Volunteers from pursuing activities which they think are valuable and contingent to their jobs. As one staff member put it:

"The Volunteer's self-selected project is often an unconscious expression of the individual Volunteer's involvement in developing programming, that is, the Volunteer who decides to spend his summer in adult education is, in effect, saying that he thinks the education of adults is of enough importance to development that he is willing to spend his time doing it. He has become the agent of programming as well as the actor. He has hopefully viewed alternatives and selected with a unique knowledge."

This is where a conscientious and alert staff member, freed from the administrative necessity of reviewing a project proposal from every teacher, can make the most effective use of his field autonomy—he can make sure the Volunteer has the freedom in which to perform, and he can evaluate the experiment with an eye toward future programming. In this instance, the field staff member is not a policeman checking up on the Volunteer; he is a programmer looking for ideas.

Such things have happened. In Somalia, several teachers got together on a school construction project one summer and it worked so well that it was programmed into a full-time job. In Colombia, an education Volunteer's summer organization of a professional teachers' cooperative turned into a regular job for the organizer and several other Volunteers. In both cases, the possibilities had been unknown until probed by Volunteers. There are many other examples. This is the kind of autonomy that needs to be insured. And this is the kind of autonomy that dies at the hands of an overworked, harried or thoughtless staff.

Away from originality?

What about the Volunteers who, if pressed, might come up with some good ideas for the summer, but who would probably go along with the prescribed alternatives in the program plan if they existed, without even a thought of originality? Is their autonomy being threatened? Or, more importantly, is the Peace Corps passing up some potentially good ideas by outlining their work for them?

The Peace Corps does not owe Volunteers a set block of time to do with as they will. All other Peace Corps jobs are programmed for a two-year period, without regard to seasons. Some of these other programs are less structured than teaching, it is true, but the Volunteers are still subject to frustrations of other kinds.

Further, prospective teachers don't go into training expecting to plan their summer work—most haven't even given vacation time a thought. "If I had known that I would have 5½ months of vacation," said one teacher, "I would have been shocked."

Maybe the Peace Corps *is* passing up some potentially good ideas by not asking all Volunteers to plan their own summer projects. But it is doubtful that this risk would outweigh the benefits of prior planning for summer activities. (Even now in some countries Volunteers can be assigned to a project rather than dream one up on their own.) And prior planning would not preclude a Volunteer's pursuing an endeavor he thinks worthwhile, under the guidance of a staff member.

"I suppose the scary thing," says a staff member, "is that you're afraid if you overplan you might shut off the Volunteer's thinking. But I really don't believe that's much of a worry. I've never known a thoughtful Volunteer who did not constantly question the worth of his job."

The following reports from the Philippines, Venezuela and Nigeria illustrate the three types of summer projects: job-related, community-related and self-enrichment. The three projects described—a curriculum writing workshop, a traveling team of "specialists" (in this case, sports experts) and a language conference—are fairly typical summer efforts.

CURRICULUM WRITING

By ANN and TERRY MARSHALL
The Philippines

We are experienced curriculum writers.

Behind us is one summer project, two high school English guides, and plenty of second thoughts.

Our first summer project was in Manila, where we helped write guides for English, science and mathematics for Filipino vocational high schools.

Our English group—10 Volunteers and 12 Filipinos—knocked out eight guides (a reading and a grammar guide for each year) in just six weeks (although some stayed longer to finish stencils and pressure the Bureau of Vocational Education into reproducing them).

The completed guides are not the world's best, but they are probably an improvement over the outdated guides currently not in use. At least we began the necessary process of revision: our guides provide a foundation for future improvement.

The summer project was gratifying: we provided concrete aid for the overburdened Filipino teacher. But we're still pestered by a few lingering doubts.

First, none of us had ever written curricula. And only one Volunteer in English had pre-Peace Corps teaching experience; the rest had six months of co-teaching. (Maybe we weren't too well qualified to write another nation's vocational school curriculum.) Besides, some of us didn't want to be there. We had been assigned.

The Filipinas? All had several years' teaching experience in the Philippines, their own culture. Of course, not many were experienced curriculum writers. Others were more interested in working on their theses or attending summer school than in working on the curriculum project.

And there were other small problems: Our workroom was insufferably hot. Many Volunteers soon disappeared to work in air-conditioned hotel rooms; the Filipinas didn't have air-conditioned hotel rooms. Filipinas had to fill out time cards to receive per diem (which they didn't always get anyway); Volunteers didn't need time cards (but always got their allowance.

Second, cultural differences worked to give Volunteers control of workshop organization and guide contents. Volunteers are job-oriented: we wanted to complete the guides before school started. And, we are frank: if we believed something, or disagreed with someone, we said so. Filipinos, however, place smooth interpersonal relations (SIR) or getting along pleasantly with others, above all else.

In practice, this meant that Volunteers' wishes prevailed; that Filipinas were helping (or hindering, as some felt) Volunteers write guides, rather than Americans helping Filipinos. If a Filipina disagreed, she gently protested, then went along with the Volunteer. If, as happened occasionally, she disagreed strongly, she gently protested, then followed her own plan (which resulted in unrelated and sometimes contradictory units in the same guide).

A finished product

In spite of these minor problems, we finished the guides. Come to think of it though, it was the Volunteers—not the Filipinas—who wormed stencils and paper from the Bureau, who typed the stencils and who pushed through the printing.

In the process, some of us changed the work done by our Filipina "co-workers" (without their knowledge) because it didn't meet *our* standards. (A promising note: not all curriculum writing projects were this way. At least one avoided the problem as it was composed entirely of Volunteers.)

We got our guides, but it will be incredible if any of our co-workers want to work with us again. Fortunately, Filipino SIR will keep us from knowing.

We got the guides. But they are primarily American guides, written by inexperienced Americans for Filipino schools.

Our question is, in a country that

Ann and Terry Marshall spend most of the year teaching at the Leyte Institute of Technology in Tacloban City, Leyte. He coordinates the contributions of the five VOLUNTEER *correspondents in the Philippines.*

has talented, capable teachers, do Americans have a moral right to write curricula to be used in that nation's schools?

And if so, should Peace Corps Volunteers be the ones to do so?

TRAVELING SPORTS CLINIC

By CHIP PETERSON
Venezuela

A Peace Corps sports clinic took to the road in Venezuela last summer. Seven Volunteers—most frequently in a Chevy carryall, but sometimes by plane and boat—went to 10 major sites around the country giving classes in baseball, basketball, weight lifting and swimming to local coaches, physical education teachers, recreation leaders, referees and athletes.

Some characteristics of Venezuela helped make the clinic idea more workable. Most towns already had various sports programs which provided ready groups of athletes and coaches with whom to work and exchange ideas. And Venezuela has a well developed road system. Furthermore, the society is geographically mobile; in all but the smallest towns people are accustomed to dealing with strangers on an impersonal level and accepting them as representatives of institutions. Thus, there was no particular reason to fear that the short time in each city would result in serious problems of rapport.

Skills respected

The Venezuelan athlete is a Missouri "show me" type who much more readily lends his respect to a coach or teacher skilled in the sport he is teaching than to even a very highly competent non-performing coach. Thus, the sports to be taught were chosen according to the availability of highly skilled Volunteers in the Peace Corps physical education projects, limiting the clinic to four sports because of logistical considerations (scheduling and traveling).

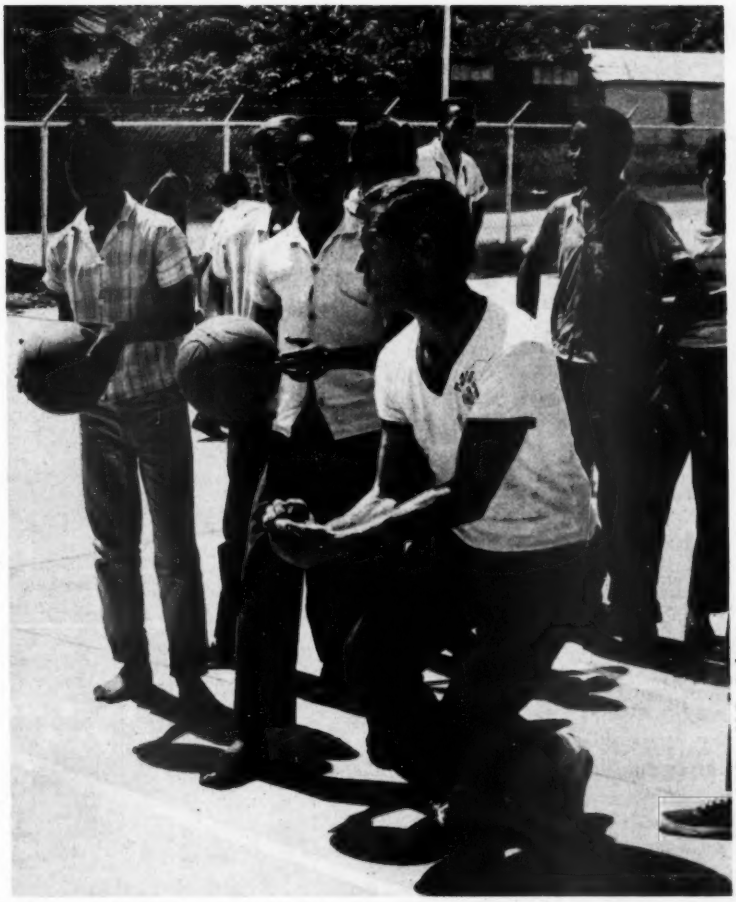


Photo by Donald R. Anderson

Bill Gregory with Venezuelans. Was there too much emphasis on performing skills?

The clinic generally spent a week in each site. The sites were selected on the basis of available facilities and probable number of participants, but above all on the indications of local support in the clinic's planning and execution. In Venezuela, good organization is vital; so much so, in fact, that it is little exaggeration to say that the success or failure of the clinic in any particular site was already determined by the time it arrived in town.

Every site selected had at least one permanent recreation or physical education Volunteer who could help during the summer with organizational and publicity work. In addition, in each site there was at least one Venezuelan organization, such as the National Sports Institute, the YMCA, or the National Children's Council, which pledged cooperation, made available its facilities, and assumed much of the responsibility for organization and publicity.

It is difficult to evaluate the clinic in terms of its effect on performance levels. A week is a short time in which to try to teach new skills or perfect old ones, and there is little doubt that only a small percentage of what is taught is absorbed and retained. As with any sports clinic, the main function is to try to promote an interchange of ideas and to present some new ones as well as to stimulate interest. The most productive sessions were those aimed at the coaches and teachers. As much as local conditions permit, a clinic of this type ought to be aimed at teaching how to teach and how to organize programs rather than at teaching primarily performing skills.

Working on a project of this type,

a Volunteer does not make close friends, develop long-range programs, and become a functioning part of the local community. Yet the amount of local acceptance and cooperation which the clinic has received suggests that under certain conditions a "mobile Volunteer" could be very effective, enough so to warrant considering the sacrifice of the normal Volunteer-community relationship in order to bring the assistance of a highly skilled specialist to a large number of communities. Such a Volunteer would have to have cooperation at the national level of some host-country organization, which would then arrange for him to work for short periods of time with officials at a local level in order to help organize or upgrade programs in his field of specialty. There is no reason to restrict a concept like this to physical education programs, of course—if it is valid at all, it should be applicable to many projects in which there are host country organizations working in the same field as Volunteers.

In the case of the "mobile Volunteer," the community consists of host country nationals in various areas bound by their common program or field of interest. (Here we have begun to identify with national basketball and swimming "communities.") Presumably, many Volunteers would feel deprived if they were not part of a local community. Perhaps only second-year Volunteers, who have had a year's experience in a single site, should ever be used in this manner.

Chip Peterson was the sports clinic's swimming expert. He earned All American honors in swimming and a Phi Beta Kappa key from the University of Minnesota.

LANGUAGE CONFERENCE

By FRED ENGLANDER and MELVIN SCHNAPPER

Nigeria

The following report from Nigeria tells why a recent language conference was held there. About 40 Volunteers participated in the course in Yoruba (the local language, primarily of Nigeria's Western Region, but also spoken in parts of the North. They were presented, by Nigerian informants and two other Volunteers, with "connotative Yoruba, gestures, idioms, cultural differences and other items which training and early experiences in Nigeria . . . somehow failed to convey." A complete outline of the course is available from the Publications and Information Center, Office of Volunteer Support, Washington, D.C., 20525.

Why have an intensive one-week, 36-hour Yoruba language conference? With Peace Corps Volunteers working closely with Nigerians in classrooms, in agricultural and rural development and in other situations, one would assume that picking up the language would be an integral part of their Peace Corps experience in Nigeria. But obviously this does not happen. Except for the two of us who have an FSI rating of S-3 and another Volunteer with an S-2, all the other Volunteers are blatantly deficient in Yoruba language proficiency. As was pointed out at a recent language conference in Lagos, Nigeria Volunteers have consistently scored the lowest FSI ratings as compared with other countries. The explanation for this is not simple. There are several complex factors which interact to form a truly formidable barrier to learning the Yoruba language. They are: the Yoruba language, the culture, Peace Corps training and the acculturation process of the Volunteer.

Lingual subtleties

The Yoruba language is an extremely difficult one for native speakers of English. Not only does it have certain consonants which are difficult to master, but the tonal system is difficult to hear and speak and can become very subtle and complex. Most Volunteers make an initial effort and then become frustrated at their inability to memorize all the tones and tonal changes. Rationalizations are "I can't hear tones" or "It can't be learned." We and others we've met—missionaries, anthropologists—have proved otherwise.

Culture would not be a discouraging factor if Volunteers understood it. Yorubas laugh at Europeans

Films about the Peace Corps resulted from vacation projects in Brazil and the Ivory Coast.

"One Step at a Time," a film produced and directed by two university teachers in Brazil, has become the major Peace Corps recruiting film of 1966-67, and also a training film. The Volunteers launched it as a vacation project; then received permission from the country director for a longer, country-wide tour to complete it. In eight months, the pair shot 14,000 feet of film, mostly with USIS equipment. A staff member who was a Volunteer composed and sang the title song.

The Ivory Coast film is a study of Peace Corps vacation projects there. Currently being developed for use in training programs for West Africa, the film covers student tours, music classes, adult literacy programs, homemaking, woodworking, school construction, language study, health care and occupational therapy. The script calls the projects "a moment of change from the classroom." A Volunteer teacher took one month of his school vacation to produce the film. Another Volunteer wrote the music. One version of the film was done in French for Peace Corps promotion in the Ivory Coast. Another potential use of the English version is to share information among Peace Corps countries and regions about summer projects.

"Volunteers are blatantly deficient in Yoruba language proficiency." Result: a language conference at Oshogbo, at which Volunteers in Nigeria could improve their competency in the language. Co-author Melvin Schnapper is second from left.

and Americans attempting to speak Yoruba. But they laugh from surprise and delight; they are not making fun of the speaker. The number of whites who know even a few greetings is so infinitesimal that the Yorubas look upon a person with conversational knowledge as truly having made a strenuous effort to learn their language. And, of course, they are delighted by it. (Yorubas also laugh at an old man falling off a bicycle. The meaning of laughter cannot be wholly or even in part interpreted within the context of our own society.)

Peace Corps training is another factor which does not greatly aid the learning of Yoruba. The dull, tedious repetition of lifeless drills packed into a 16-hour day of exhausting lectures and physical activities is far from a good language learning experience. Although well-known and competent linguists are usually available to direct language training, they are linguists who are wholly involved with the structure of the language and have no feeling for the culture out of which it comes or the connotative and emotional dimensions of the words. Students are never made aware of the excitement and involvement of the living language. Informants, highly sophisticated and well-educated Yorubas, are often reticent about revealing the slangs, idioms and gestures of what they might think is the "bushman's" Yoruba.

So much time is spent mastering pronunciation and precise grammar that little actual material is learned which will give the Volunteer a few initially rewarding experiences once he arrives in the country. Unfortunately, most initial experiences are discouraging because the Volunteer's ability to carry through a discussion to a meaningful level is inadequate.

The acculturation process of the Volunteer is another consideration. One of the most discouraging things is the attitude of veteran Volunteers in the country (this starts even in training programs where we were told innumerable times, "You don't need the language in Nigeria, everyone speaks English.") The veteran Volunteers who don't speak Yoruba develop a guilt complex about it because they realize that their Peace Corps role must be defined in terms far wider and deeper than their limited professional role. This realization causes them to become defensive with the new, enthusiastic (if he still is by this time) Volunteer and rather than admit that they might be missing out on unique relationships, they tell the new arrival not to waste his time with the language and may even go to the extent of telling him that he will never really have a Nigerian friend. By this time the new Volunteer can be very discouraged unless he is deeply committed to the Peace Corps idea of transcultural communication.

It must be emphasized that a Peace Corps Volunteer's role has a wider definition than doing an effective job. He must be made aware that his contact with the people, that the acceptance of their ways and more importantly, their acceptance of his ways, is the end goal. Language is the only vehicle for learning the thought processes, the values and the *Weltanschauung* of the Yorubas.

We hope to remedy the situation by having a Yoruba course every school break (this is the third consecutive course we have taught) so that those Volunteers whose interests have not been completely snuffed out, might receive the training that their own ineffectual efforts have not given them.

Fred Englander and Melvin Schnapper teach at Kiriji Memorial College and the Government Technical Training School in Ilorin, respectively; both in Yoruba-speaking areas of Nigeria.

CHOICE COMMENTS FROM MALAYSIA VOLUNTEERS:

What projects have proved unsuccessful? Why?

—A garden. Wrong spot—kids stole the tomatoes when they were *green.*

—Raising flowers. Public Works Department cut them down.

Should clerical or research work for the staff be done during vacation time?

—Awrg.

Conclusion of one Volunteer: "The interested Volunteer who isn't projecting for the sake of projecting will find what he or she is looking for. The others would be better off with a rest."

A sum of ideas

By **BRYANT ROBEY**

Pat Brown's article (Do RPCVs really make a difference?) in the February issue is observant and sensible. I question, however, her interpretation of "policy" and "policy makers." She writes that policy is made by the senior staff. Returned Volunteers, on the other hand, hold jobs which "restrict rather than permit contributions to major policy change . . . No one listens . . . They must often leave their areas of responsibility and go elsewhere to effect policy . . . But for some this is . . . impossible."

This is a rather narrow interpretation of what policy is and how it is made. No "policy maker" makes policy in a vacuum. The function of the senior staff is to provide leadership; effective leadership identifies and uses talent and ideas. The effective leader encourages participation and responsibility. "Ultimate policy," in its most profound sense, is the sum of all the ideas brought forth in a bureaucracy by all of its members.

Within the Peace Corps bureaucracy the returned Volunteer does not inherit any special inalienable rights because of his service. The senior staff has no obligation to listen to the advice of returned Volunteers or of anyone else if it does not choose to. Perceptive and effective administrators, however, *do* choose to make communication easy, to listen, and to make use of what they hear.

If there is discontent and frustration, "hall muttering" as Charles Peters would say, there can be only two causes: either ideas which are being communicated are not worth listening to (could it be that "no one listens" to returned Volunteers because they have nothing new to say?) or leadership has turned sour, and good ideas go unheard.

Grumbling junior staff members usually blame the bureaucracy for their woes. A bureaucracy, however, exists to make possible an organized flow of ideas. We do not serve it; it should serve us. It is only what we make it. But if a bureaucracy's leaders don't communicate excitement and enthusiasm to their junior staff, then ideas will not flow, and the bureaucracy will become stagnant.

The writer worked in the Executive Secretariat and is now an evaluator. He was a Volunteer in Guinea.

RPCV 'jugglers'

By **DENNIS PHILLIPS**

It is time someone balanced the scales and paid tribute to the returned Volunteer as a juggler.

The cardinal rule in this arena stipulates that one must never generalize about returned Volunteers (who are fiercely proud of a not-always-apparent and hence indefinable individualism). Therefore one must confine the inquiry to a specific group of returned Volunteers who share something in common—like those who work for Peace Corps Washington.

Among this "control group" are a few of the most talented jugglers since Ringling Brothers' troupe last visited Washington. Some have become so proficient that they have joined the bureaucratic circus, leaving the old values behind forever. From time to time they may appear in "forums" to effect lamentations on why the old life cannot influence the new, but deep down they know that personal survival depends entirely upon tomorrow.

The returned Volunteer as a successful juggler realizes that Peace Corps Washington is an incredibly good springboard to the future. He concentrates on juggling profitable objects like parties, position, pay and people. He learns quickly that the deep and time-consuming friendships he came to cherish overseas do not fit into the Washington schedule. He has little time for old friends and they have little time for him. Occasionally he remembers the "old days" and it occurs to him that what Peace Corps Washington needs most is a good daily siesta, but then things are not done that way in America.

So he juggles. He enlarges his circle of acquaintances, shunning underlings who are in no position to offer him advancement, cultivating members of the senior staff who are. To arrange to get to know the right person is to recognize the realities of life. To build friendships for the sake of friendships is to invite continued oblivion.

The juggler studies the underlying strategy in the perennial battle of the memo. He recognizes that a premium is awarded to "idea men"—particularly those who get the right idea to the right person at the right time. Of course, as an idea man he may be totally incapable or unwilling to do the work necessary to put the idea into effect but no matter.

Hall mutterers, arise!

That is where his juggling talent comes in again. If he is able to toss the ideas high and far enough he will have moved to another act by the time they come crashing down around some unsuspecting clown who has just joined the circus.

How quickly the Volunteer juggler accepts the hard life of the circus! It is a rough-and-tumble existence. He does not protest as he is absorbed into the restless throng. He takes it as a lamentable inevitability which one accepts and lives with because that is just inexplicable reality in the bureaucratic carnival.

Only a few seem to realize how quickly they make the transfer from the most humanizing experience of their lives (as Volunteers overseas) to one of the most dehumanizing.

Returned Volunteer jugglers must learn what it means to speak with "correct objectivity." For example, there *are* legitimate grievances among Volunteers in Nigeria, but there probably wouldn't be if those currently in service shared the same spirit and dedication the juggler had when he was there as a Volunteer. In short, Washington is right because Washington influences the juggler's future. It is wise to criticize just a little, but never, never too much.

He juggles his history too. He was never such a busy and dedicated Volunteer until he retold it at home. Having sat at the feet of elders, he has learned his lessons from masters of the art. He knows how to tactfully pin a "hero" medal to his own chest.

In brief, the juggler advocates the survival of the fittest. As one returned Volunteer put it recently, "This is a mean city. Don't be childish enough to believe the propaganda your own agency develops." And he is right, for in the Peace Corps, as in any other young agency on the make, Machiavelli walks the corridors far more frequently than Christ.

Fortunately not all returned Volunteers in Washington are jugglers. Having come to the inevitable crossroads, not all have opted to build empires. There are many who haven't given up on humanism: still those who don't keep old friends waiting in an outer office, still those who don't have their eye on the job just above them, still those who quietly and efficiently get their jobs done. They are the quiet ones, the ones who are often called the bland returned Volunteers.

Dennis Phillips is an assessment officer in the Office of Selection. He was a Volunteer in Morocco.

Wrong battles

By **RAYMOND T. McEACHERN**

There seems to be a tendency in this agency, especially on the part of returned Volunteers, to use the words "bureaucrat" and "bureaucracy" too indiscriminately. While the application of these terms may in some cases be appropriate, too often the returned Volunteer who finds himself faced with a structured situation at Peace Corps Washington makes the mistake of assuming that structure itself is bureaucracy.

This is both ironic and at the same time understandable. Most returned Volunteers have gone through three months of an "unstructured" training environment and from 21 to 24 months of a loosely framed work experience. Their very presence overseas may often be considered important, even though immediate tangible results are nigh impossible. Their work in the field had little structure because their jobs as Volunteers in a very real sense were to create structures. In Washington, the structure is necessarily present and the returned Volunteer who expects to function effectively must work within that structure.

A popular term among political scientists addressing the problems of developing countries is "structural specificity." It is theorized that the degree of structural specificity in a nation varies in direct relationships to its development. The argument runs that the outputs of any society will be greater and more proportionately divided if there exist structures with sufficient specialty and coordination through which to funnel the development needs of the people. To a certain extent this sounds like a justification for bureaucracy—and, indeed, a society with unlimited and universally accessible resources needs little else in the way of structural design. It is a basic fact of life that such resources do not exist.

The job of Peace Corps Washington is not the job of the Volunteer. There is no nation building done here. Our job is resource management and development. No one office or person has any corner on the product, and while it may be the returned Volunteer with the greatest charisma who becomes the first to head the agency, it is not charisma that improves the recruiting, training and placement of Volunteers.

Peace Corps Washington is the inverted funnel through which must pass the limited resources which will produce the greatest results. The returned Volunteer in Washington may feel nostalgic about the past, but he should be consoled that the enemy within is not the structure itself which he so recently attempted to create, but structural fatigue which he may, with care and farsightedness, attempt to repair. To do this, he must accept the limitations of structure while at the same time be prepared to improve design. 1984 is as likely to be borne on the wings of the bird of youth as to materialize among the projections of PPBS. The greatest danger is not that the opinions of the returned Volunteers will go unheard, but that their energies will be absorbed in fighting the wrong battles.

The writer was a Volunteer in the Philippines and is now a budget analyst for the Peace Corps.

Draft changes proposed

President Lyndon B. Johnson's proposed changes in the Selective Service System would affect the Peace Corps, but only indirectly.

The President has proposed to reverse the order of induction so that the youngest rather than the oldest registrants would be called to military service first. Currently the order of "oldest first" calls men from age 26 down. Mr. Johnson's plan is to draft men from age 19 up.

This change, among several proposed by the President, would be the most important to the Peace Corps.

Having 19-year-olds first in the order of call would not have a direct effect on many Volunteers, since the Peace Corps has very few members in that age bracket. By the time undergraduate males were ready to consider the Peace Corps, they would have met their military obligation, know that they were relieved of it, or know that it awaited them at a specified time.

The plan would have all men examined at age 18 to determine their physical and mental eligibility. All eligible men reaching age 19 before a designated date would be placed in a selection pool. Then, through FAIR (a fair and impartial system of selection —perhaps a lottery of some kind) their order of call would be determined. Those not called before the entry of the next group of eligible men into the selection pool would drop to a less vulnerable position in the order of induction. Their vulnerability would continue to diminish until their 35th birthday, when their liability would cease.

The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, which recommended many of the proposals adopted by Mr. Johnson in his message on the draft, called for the elimination of student deferments. But in this case the President left the matter for Congress to decide. He did propose abolition of most deferments for graduate study.

Mr. Johnson's changes (proposed as an executive order rather than as amendments to the Selective Service law being reviewed by Congress) would not affect many of today's Volunteers. The changes would not go into effect until Jan. 1, 1969.

Given present manpower projections, it is also apparent that large numbers of young men will probably never see military duty. About two million men reach age 19 each year (the number is growing) and the draft is expected to require only 5 to 15 per cent of this total each year.

In his message, the President made no mention of the occupational deferment, 2-A, which has been received by Peace Corps Volunteers, among others.

The advisory commission gave serious consideration to various proposals for national service of a non-military nature but concluded, as did the President, that the time was not yet opportune to institutionalize this concept (see following articles). Such a development would of course directly affect the Peace Corps and other Volunteer endeavors. The omission of non-military alternatives caused disappointment in some quarters (see Stanley Frankel's comments on pages 24 and 25).

President's statement

President Lyndon B. Johnson concluded his message to Congress on the Selective Service system with the following comments:

Service performed by the youth of our nation honors us all.

Americans have good reason to respect the long tradition of service which is manifested in every flight line and outpost where we commit our bravest men to the guardianship of freedom.

We have witnessed in our day the building of another tradition—by men and women in the Peace Corps, in VISTA, and in other such programs which have touched, and perhaps even changed, the life of our country and our world.

This spirit is as characteristic of modern America as our advanced technology, or our scientific achievements.

I have wondered if we could establish, through these programs and others like them, a practical system of non-military alternatives to the draft without harming our security.

Both the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service and the group reporting to the Congress posed this question for study.

The spirit of volunteer service in socially useful enterprises will, we hope, continue to grow until that good day when all service will be voluntary, when all young people can and will choose the kind of service best fitted to their needs and their nation's.

We will hasten it as we can. But until it comes, because of the conditions of the world we live in now, we must continue to ask one form of service—military duty—of our young men. We would be an irresponsible nation if we did not—and perhaps even an extinct one.

The nation's requirement that men must serve, however, imposes this obligation: That in this land of equals, men are selected as equals to service.

A just nation must have the fairest system that can be devised for making that selection.

I believe the proposals I am making today will help give us that system.

George Lichty cartoon courtesy of The Washington Post and Publishers' Newspaper Syndicate

"It's got the answer for the Selective Service muddle: Start everybody off in the Army and then draft them for civilian life, as needed!"

Commission views service

Here is what the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service had to say about national service:

During the past year, a lively debate has emerged on a subject popularly referred to as "national service." It carries with it the proposition that the young men and women of America owe to their country, or to their fellow man, or to themselves, some period of service in the public interest. The common examples of such service are the Peace Corps, VISTA, the National Teacher Corps, and the various branches of the military.

The debate has been wide ranging:

Some have argued that all eligible men should be compelled to serve the country in some way. Those not needed by the military should be directed to some civilian service program so that no one will "escape" and equity will be achieved.

Some have taken the narrower position that men should be given a wider choice of ways in which they can serve their country, and that if they voluntarily choose a civilian service program, they should receive credit in the form of a draft exemption.

Some have said that the draft should *not* be used to channel men into non-military service, but that a public climate should be created in which some period of service is *expected* of every man and woman.

And others, totally excluding any form of inducement, would simply work to expand the number of service opportunities.

In accordance with its mandate, the Commission examined only those national service proposals related to the draft. Its review of the proposal for *compulsory* service programs persuades the Commission that there would be difficult questions of public policy, and a lack of a constitutional basis in any program of universal compulsory service.

Peacetime alternative

The proposal to allow young men to choose some non-military program as a means of serving their country has received much wider support. John F. Kennedy, prior to his election as President in 1960, proposed "a 'peace corps' of talented young men willing and able to serve their country . . . for three years as an alternative to peacetime selective service." President Johnson, in August 1966, asked: "Can we—without harming our nation's security—establish a practical system of non-military alternatives to the draft?" And Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, noting the inequity which results when only a minority of eligible men are called into service, suggested in May 1966 "remedying that inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country, whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad."

The Commission thoughtfully considered these proposals and opinions. It concluded that no fair way exists, at least at present, to equate non-military with military service. So national service cannot, in the opinion of the Commission, be considered as an alternative to the draft.

Equity aside, the Commission is not satisfied that the quality and spirit of volunteer programs could be maintained if they were designated draft alternatives. It also believes that any alternative system instituted at this time would be discriminatory in that it would exclude men of lower educational levels, since most opportunities for service now exist only for people who have attended or graduated from college. Further, it anticipates substantial dissatisfaction in the private sector as to which of its programs

would "qualify" as alternatives. And most importantly, the Commission believes that selective service, which rests upon military needs, should not be confused with the concept of civilian voluntary service, which rests upon educational and social needs. Although both contain elements of patriotism and service, they are basically distinct functions.

Exposure completed

The Commission has sympathy with the contentions that, when many men have not served at all, there is some unfairness in drafting those men who have previously served for two years in non-military programs. However, under a system of drafting youngest men first and requiring all qualified men to be exposed to a random selection system for one year, the Commission believes this problem will be virtually eliminated. It is probable that most of those men entering existing volunteer programs will have completed their exposure to the draft and therefore the probability of their being called for later military service will be slight.

National service, as the Commission has considered it, has focused on two ideas. One is service to the community. It has been suggested that there are vast fields in which voluntary service by young men and women would be of great value—in community action programs for the rural and urban poor, in tutoring and preschool programs for those with substandard educational opportunities, in teachers' aid activities that can help implementation of more personalized and higher quality education at all levels, in improved health facilities, in beautification and conservation, in assistance to the developing countries.

The other proposition the Commission has heard is that voluntary service is of great value to the individual participant—in terms of his own education. One educator who appeared before the Commission said that "fundamentally . . . we are facing the fact that in the world in which we live, the classroom does not suffice as an instrument of education." National service will pose, he said, "a very vital and crucial struggle of redefinition on the part of young people as to what constitutes being an American." "I think that life will have more point to it," Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz told the Commission, "if every single boy and girl has in his or her life a chance to spend two years doing something for some reason other than what is called 'bread-winning'—that is, for some reason better than money, and on a pure service basis." Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and former head of the Peace Corps said that "our younger generation needs this opportunity for service. They need to be challenged and to have their best capacities released. They need to be asked to do difficult tasks that our country needs to have done. They need to be called to the frontiers of our society and of the world community. They need to discover themselves."

Many questions, however, remain open in regard to the expansion of volunteer activities, regardless of their relation to the draft. The Commission endeavored to learn, from Government officials and others, precisely what the needs are which national service can meet; how programs would be administered; how they would be financed. The answers were imprecise and inconclusive. It seems to the Commission that intensive research must pinpoint the areas of greatest need for service and define the jobs to be done. Funds will have to be found to implement such programs. Can private sources be located? Should federal "involvement" mean a federally operated program with a large measure of federal control, or should it mean federal funding of programs that are operated by states, cities, or private agencies? Would private agencies be reluctant to accept federal funding because of the appearance of accompanying federal control? What effect would a program with great participation have on the economy, on elimination of poverty, on integration, on the labor supply, on the educational structure?

Need for research

The discussion to this point only poses the questions. The answers remain to be found.

The spirit which motivates interest in national service is undeniably a part of our national experience today. Sensitive to that spirit, the Commission suggests that the research which must be accomplished proceed, together with public and private experimentation with pilot programs.

A ca

The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service has done a superb job in suggesting changes in the draft. However, the Commission's failure to suggest some kind of universal service represents a golden opportunity lost, perhaps for our lifetime, to more nearly equalize the sacrifices to national needs of our young people.

The Commission is aware of the nation's interest in some form of national non-military service. However, the Commission concluded that "no fair way exists to equate *voluntary* service programs with military service" (underlining my own).

The Commission must know that the simple answer to their conclusion is that non-military service, too, should be made *compulsory*.

However, beyond that the Commission seems frightened by the whole concept of universal service, voluntary or compulsory, and this fear reveals a lack of understanding of the relative sacrifices made by those in the armed forces and those in other national services, such as the Peace Corps. It is obviously unfair for some young people to be drafted into the armed forces for several years while others, equally eligible, escape military service entirely. The unfairness is compounded when there exist alternate national needs in which the youngsters escaping military service would readily fit.

It is apparent that the Commission does not understand these facts of life about the armed services as compared with alternate services such as the Peace Corps:

Most military service is less hazardous than the Peace Corps. For every

A call for compulsory service

By STANLEY FRANKEL

infantryman in the front lines facing the enemy, for every flier bombing against flak and for every patrol boat being fired on by shore batteries there are dozens of servicemen down the line supporting them in progressively less hazardous posts: the Quartermaster Corps, the Signal Corps, Headquarters, the Ordnance companies, cooks, clerks, artillerymen, truck drivers, finance, legal, training, and so on. Thousands of infantrymen, serving in Germany or Korea, or in domestic installations are in places less hazardous to life and limb than places where young men and women in the Peace Corps are serving.

Inequity of sacrifice

Most men in the military service are better paid than Peace Corps Volunteers.

Most men in military service receive better food, clothing and lodging than Peace Corps Volunteers.

Most men in military service put in fewer hours in actual work than do Peace Corps Volunteers.

I do not mean to play down the role of the non-fighting branches of service, but I do mean to point out that there is more inequality of sacrifice in the armed forces themselves than there is between the military services, in general, and the Peace Corps, VISTA, Teacher Corps, et. al.

Consequently, to draft a youngster destined to be a clerk, cook, truck driver, signal man, ordnance specialist, and on and on—and to imply as the Commission does that such a person sacrifices more for his country than a Peace Corps Volunteer teaching school or agriculture in Africa, Asia or South America, is incontrovertibly wrong. Another commission should be set up to study once again the possibilities of equating one national service with another.

In this connection, I was pleased to read in the Commission's full report that such a study be undertaken because "the spirit which motivates interest in national service is undeniably a part of our national experience today. Sensitive to that spirit, the Commission suggests that the research which must be accomplished proceed, together with public and private experimentation with pilot programs."

No one can match the sacrifices of military combat personnel. But the Peace Corps and other such services come at least as close to it as do most of the men now serving in the supportive branches or in the combat branches situated geographically where they will never hear a shot fired in anger in their entire two-year stint.

> "I want to warn anyone who sees the Peace Corps as an alternative to the draft that life may well be easier at Fort Dix or at a post in Germany than it will be with us. The military life may not only be more glamorous, but it could be safer."
>
> —Sargent Shriver, 1961

So why not credit Peace Corps service against armed service? Why not offer an alternative to the military, not to permit Volunteers to escape service, but to make certain that as close as possible to 100 per cent of our young people contribute something to their country. Such a system, compulsory if necessary, would do much for both the "lucky" and "unlucky" youngsters, would remove some of the inequality of sacrifice, and would be of inestimable value to our nation.

Rather than deferring entirely to a lottery to determine who is drafted into the armed forces—a deference which suggests that this country lacks the courage or the wisdom to make a selection other than by dumb luck—why not examine our 19 year olds, physically, mentally, vocationally and psychologically. Within the results of these examinations, why not permit the youngster to opt for that branch of military or civilian service which he prefers, and for which he is best suited. What is wrong with every young person doing something for his country? What is wrong with the country and the youngster together determining where best that something can be done instead of playing Russian Roulette with our teenagers?

In the years ahead when military manpower needs decrease, then we should eliminate the compulsory phases of all service and return to a volunteer base for all services. Until then, and while some youngsters are being compelled to serve in duties of various stages of danger and hardship, let us try to make certain that every youngster contributes time and talent to well-defined national needs, domestic and foreign.

Stanley Frankel is vice president of the Ogden Corporation in New York City, and a member of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council. He was a combat officer in the Pacific Theatre during World War II.

Through the looking glass

By **VINCENT J. D'ANDREA, M.D.**

In *Alice in Wonderland,* Alice and Humpty Dumpty have a long, droll and illuminating discussion about the learning and the meaning of words. Humpty Dumpty tells Alice about "portmanteau" words, that is, words "that carry more than they mean." We have many such words in our often peculiar Peace Corps vocabulary. Two of them are "heurism" and "sensitivity training."

Heurism, or heuristic training, was introduced last summer as an approach to Peace Corps training in Hawaii. Briefly, this effort involved pre-training group sessions of both trainees and staff aimed at development of "effective working groups," the organization by the trainees themselves into "decision-making groups," followed by a continuous process of interaction between trainees and staff around the content of training. A similar program was initiated at the training camps in Puerto Rico. But somehow, the notion of "heuristic learning," of concern to philosophers of education, and sensitivity training, of concern to applied social psychology, became intertwined in these programs. In fact, they have become so closely identified that I feel compelled to attempt a definition of these "portmanteau" words and clearly state my position about them.

Heuristic learning is not much of a mystery. Children learn heuristically, by discovery through trial and error. Taking a clock apart and reassembling it is a heuristic exercise if you have never seen a clock before. Any novel situation may be an opportunity to learn by discovery. Progressive education relies heavily on heurism. The Montessori method relies heavily on learning to learn, where the learning process is not controlled so much as the materials which are used to stimulate learning. Psychotherapy could be called a heuristic activity in the sense that it can contain elements of discovery and revelation. In mathematics, "heuristic" is a formal term defining a way of approaching and solving problems. But strictly speaking, the term heuristic is one belonging to education and, as Jerome Bruner points out, has to do with the difference between *doing* and *understanding.*

It is my impression that the term is intended to convey the effort being made to define Peace Corps training as a time of problem solving on the part of the trainee. Rather than being termed "heuristic," our training can more understandably be called *trainee-centered,* with a great emphasis on the experiential aspect of learning. I have in mind here especially language learning, live-in field experience and practice teaching.

I submit that the challenge here is to the educator, not to the social psychologist, that "sensitivity training" is very much beside the point and, indeed, its use by training project directors misses the educational issue which is their responsibility, not ours. Social psychologists should advise and consult, but they should not take over training.

Against mixing roles

Psychiatrists have a defined educational and assessment role in training, and psychologists have a defined assessment role. In my opinion, our experience in turning some training programs over to group psychology represents an inappropriate responsibility on the part of the psychologist, and one not intended by the Office of Selection.

Just as the term "heurism" has many meanings and many uses, the term "sensitivity training" means many things to many people. First, it is peculiarly a Peace Corps concern. It is clearly desirable to have "sensitive" overseas workers, and it makes sense to think about a kind of educational approach that will highlight this characteristic and enhance the development of it in Volunteers.

However, it has a technical meaning in psychology and psychiatry, and it is the confusion between what we mean in Peace Corps and what "sensitivity trainers" have in mind as means and goals that must be addressed.

Sensitivity training is a specific methodology developed in the field of social psychology, sponsored and maintained by the National Training Laboratories, Inc. Sensitivity training, also known as "laboratory training," subsumes a large number of group exercises, such as "D," "T," "M," "C," and others. The aims of sensitivity training are many and varied depending upon the group exercise but, in general, the attempt is to develop an awareness of group process, group dynamics, and one's personal reactions and habitual ways of behaving with others in the laboratory group setting.

A laboratory moves through three general stages, and may last anywhere from four days to four weeks. It was outlined by A. J. Marrow in the *Department of State Newsletter* as follows:

"During the first part of the course, the emphasis is on the individual. The goal is to foster in the participant (1) a greater insight into himself and an awareness of his impact on other people and (2) an increased sensitivity to the feelings of others and a better understanding of the behavior of others and how this affects him. In the third part

of the course attention is focused on organizational effectiveness, motivation, leadership and managing change."

On the face of it, this looks interesting, and might even have some application to our training problems. However, this methodology is highly controversial in the professional literature; later, I will refer to it as being a delusion that psychology suffers. But for the present let me say that this process is not accomplished without feelings on the part of those involved, and in fact, poorly done and poorly controlled, can be quite upsetting to some people. We have had some very bad experiences with it. But beyond that, alone or combined with heuristic training, it raises at least five other problems:

The first problem is: How much substantive learning is necessary in language and technical areas? One of the problems at Hawaii was the difficulty that the trainees had in getting enough substantive learning, especially in the areas I mentioned. Their frantic efforts to catch up got snarled with their simultaneous attempt to make such decisions through group decision-making. In effect, so much time was spent in learning to make decisions in a group that the trainees found themselves horrified by the amount of learning they had outlined for themselves and rapidly ran out of time.

The second problem in our experiment in combining heuristic training and sensitivity training, is selection during training. To maintain that process, we have to maintain a certain level of tension in the trainee between his increasing awareness of his abilities or lack of abilities and his responsiveness to feedback from the staff. This kind of balance is difficult to achieve without data on which to base feedback. It is certainly exceedingly complicated when one has to deal with a large group process.

Third is the problem of balance between reinforcing dependence of the individual on a group and peer relationships, and the apparent realities of isolation in the field and its demands for autonomy. We are all familiar with the phenomenon of fracturing of strong training groups in the field and the devastating effect this has on some individuals whose dependency needs were met largely by a group.

Fourth, in the classical sensitivity training approaches, is the major problem of invasion of privacy of the trainee as an individual. Do we have a contract with the trainee to indoctrinate and manipulate him? I think that a methodology such as that espoused by the National Training Laboratory group should be used only with those trainees who have a clear idea of what is involved and who have freely expressed their willingness to participate.

Fifth, such procedures constitute therapy in a non-clinical setting. Given the conditions of our work at training sites, the question of personnel, methodology and control seem to be very important. I also have a very strong bias in the direction of individual work with trainees in the areas of counseling where one can clearly state what the contract is with the individual.

I maintain that any sensitivity training which is either overtly or covertly a compulsory part of an educational program is open to serious question from the point of view of educational and medical ethics. I do not believe that we have the right to expose our trainees to this type of attack on their psychological equilibrium.

Furthermore, the philosophy of the Peace Corps in many ways runs counter to the sensitivity training approach. Peace Corps administration and our psychiatric services have from the beginning taken the view that both in training and in service overseas the Volunteers should be supported and strengthened in facing challenges.

Our approach has been to strengthen defenses rather than weaken them. This doesn't mean that people should be discouraged from expressing their feelings, painful and otherwise, when they are in situations of crisis and challenge.

Photos by Carl Purcell

The Peace Corps wants "sensitive" Volunteers, but does it obtain them with "sensitivity training?" The photo depicts the more common mental health sessions employed at training sites.

In fact, we have explicitly legitimized the expression of feelings and have urged the policy that Volunteers as well as trainees in difficulty should be entitled to talk about their problems and be helped by their peers, by administrators, and, in the field, by the staff and Peace Corps physicians.

Part of this philosophy includes the stimulation of a sense of independence on the part of Volunteers. In particular, we have always respected the Volunteer's privacy and his right to maintain an individual adult existence of his own quite apart from the Peace Corps, as long as this does not interfere with his Peace Corps service or endanger the Peace Corps program. It seems to me that the essence of the

"T" group technique in contrast is the forced intrusion of the group on the privacy of individual members.

I question whether we should be in the business of indoctrinating Volunteers in an "authentic" mode of communication which represents a particular ideal derived largely from experience in the industrial area in attempting to develop more effective managers.

Many people in industry question the usefulness of efforts by behavioral scientists to improve the effectiveness of democratic participative management through some sort of "T" group experience.

The facts are that in the power structure of modern business few of the participants in such programs, when in their work situation, enjoy the protections of "due process," nor are they able in reality to participate in decisions, for example, about how they feel they can increase their productivity, etc.

I was struck by an article by Dr. Dunnette in the *American Psychologist*, titled: "Fashions, Fads and Folderol in Psychology." He lists sensitivity training as one of the "delusions" that psychology suffers. He discusses sensitivity training and group process training, "as a widespread current fashion in industry whose effectiveness is still proclaimed solely on the basis of testimonials." Furthermore, he states, "the primary rationale for inadequate evaluation of such processes is that they are a form of therapy and must therefore be good and worthwhile."

This point is one for which psychologists and psychiatrists must bear responsibility in advising administrators and educators.

A lot to be learned

Peace Corps training is a difficult business; it requires a lot of work on everybody's part. I don't think there are many short cuts or gimmicks we can utilize to get around the fact that there is a lot of language learning, there is a lot of technical skill learning, and there is a lot of introspection necessary before the trainee and the Peace Corps can make a mutual decision.

I am temperamentally and philosophically on the side of those who view our job as taking the trainee at the level where he or she is, working with him with all his strengths and foibles and idiosyncrasies, in a cooperative, non-coercive relationship, toward a *mutual* decision.

Let me then point out a few other delusions that we may be suffering, linked with the one about sensitivity training as the ideal way to prepare people for overseas work. There are those who reason that the end product of training should be a trainee who "levels" and communicates in a "real" way, because the experience of Peace Corps Volunteers is so intensely personal and essentially non-verbal. By aping such a process in training we are in effect doing "good." This notion is linked further with the "delusion" that the experiences of Volunteers over a two-year period can be bodily handed over to our trainees. You can't hand over the intense personal contact that Volunteers talk about, the need for communications skills, the increased self-awareness, the autonomy and the sense of maturity in accomplishment in a 12-week period. I have problems with the notion that personal growth of a perduring and pervasive kind can occur over short periods of time.

A constant temptation is trying to put *everything* about the overseas experience into the training situation. It doesn't do any good to tell people that they are going to be frustrated, bored, unhappy, miserable, angry, unemployed, etc. Trainees may be interested in hearing about that sort of thing but their real concerns, as I know them, have to do with language and whether they can do the technical job that we have set out for them. I think it makes sense to work with present realities rather than boring or confusing the trainees.

At times we labor under a delusion that there is no limit to the professional resources we can bring to bear in a training program. With the development of increasingly sophisticated training models and getting "locked" into a sophisticated training, we are quickly going to run out of people who can do the job.

Developmental group training requires full-time staff who know what they are doing. Under the present training set-up, with the large numbers of people we have to deal with, we simply can't work with the most highly sophisticated model. We are in trouble once we get away from the lowest common denominator approach in terms of the actual application of personnel to the training task.

There are the Jeremiahs in the wings who continue to complain that our Peace Corps training has been all bad in the past and continues to be bad—that it is not really relevant to the overseas task. It is unfair to compare the training experience with the very complex and unusual situation overseas. Perhaps former Volunteers are the worst offenders in this area, but there are also staff people who take a very naive and simplistic approach, expecting to see in 12 weeks the changes that two years of living and experiencing have effected in Volunteers.

I am confident that as we learn how to make better use of *real* situations to stimulate learning, such as live-in experiences, practice teaching, on-the-job experiences of all kinds, and finally overseas training, we will finally overcome the temptation to use artificial and controversial and potentially harmful gimmicks. We need an artful blend, that only sensible and intelligent educators can come up with.

Self-explanation helps

What can psychiatrists and psychologists contribute to training in the context of a philosophy of self-assessment and increased involvement in the educational activities of training?

We can pay a little more attention to our relationships with our colleagues in training programs.

We can try to spend a little more time at the training sites getting to know people and explaining who we are and what we are doing.

The writer asks: "What can psychiatrists and psychologists contribute to the preparation of Volunteers?"

We can insist that we have something to say about the structure of training and planning of the training program before it is actually underway, in order to protect the blocks of time we need to do our work and to assure that we will have adequate facilities.

We can do a better job of counseling trainees and explaining ourselves to the staff. By assisting in the development of the program, we assure ourselves of the faculty ratings, peer ratings, tests, etc., that we need as part of the assessment process.

All of the above are basic to the job of any mental health consultant in establishing his role in any system where he has a specific job to do.

Beyond these things, we can participate more fully in certain activities at the training site which are presently of great interest. Particularly, the returned Volunteers at training sites can be extremely helpful in giving us understanding and insight into the conditions of Volunteer life.

We can help those Volunteers who are responsible for group discussion work in training, by being consultants to them or by actually participating in some of the sessions. The most recent innovation developed by returned Volunteers in Washington is the discussion materials on social behavior designed for trainees. Clearly the professionals at the training site—psychologists, psychiatrists, anthropologists and medical consultants—can be of great help to the discussion leaders who use these materials.

Finally, we can help by not misleading our colleagues responsible for the education of trainees into believing that we have any better answer to their problems than they do. By focusing on our tasks, and by being as honest as possible about what we are doing, we can make their job that much easier.

Dr. Vincent D'Andrea began working with Peace Corps programs in 1962. He was the first psychiatrist to work full-time in Peace Corps mental health training and evaluation, at the University of Hawaii. He joined the medical division in Washington in 1964, became deputy chief psychiatrist for the agency in 1965, and has been chief psychiatrist for the past year.

This article is an expansion of remarks made by the author at a conference for Peace Corps assessment officers in Washington last year.

LETTERS TO THE VOLUNTEER

An individualist speaks out

To The Volunteer:

Mr. Sill's "transculturation" article (February) can serve no purpose but destroy a Volunteer's morale and help breed a concept which can destroy the Peace Corps. Any time a Volunteer begins to feel that he can be placed into groups, categories, niches, classes or any other such type casting, he can only wince and feel regret for the people who attempt such nonsense. Every Volunteer serving overseas has a unique experience, faces his own set of completely new problems, and requires a new set of solutions. Why? Because each Volunteer can only be effective and happy according to his individual psychological makeup.

An article such as this only fosters the idea that one can generalize Peace Corps service and Volunteer behavior. This in turn robs the Volunteer of his most important concept. By being myself I can accomplish something. By being a distinct individual in a foreign land I can do something worthwhile.

A Volunteer from another country told me that he went in to see his country director about a problem which was threatening his continuation as a Volunteer. The director proceeded to whip out a chart from Peace Corps Washington and say, "Yes, 80 per cent of the Volunteers have that problem about this time in their tour, but they usually get over it." What good does that do the Volunteer?

It is my contention that the less Volunteers hear about general forms of behavior and the more they hear about staff being trained to treat Volunteers as separate entities, the better Peace Corps will become. I am not part of a general classification, type or sub-group. I am an individual and deserve recognition and treatment as an individual. Don't deny me the right to be treated as a distinct and different personality.

David W. Fraley

Meknes, Morocco

Views on programs in India

To The Volunteer:

Being stationed in the same state and program as Gerald Rust, I cannot bring myself to agree with his heart throbbing letter (February).

Jerry seems to condemn the idea of working with people who have money. If enough people with money were convinced to invest in large poultry units, the supply of eggs would increase, making the prices drop, and making eggs more accessible to the masses. The demand for feed with all that maize, rice and wheat, which is produced by the peasant, will also increase. The multitude of starving masses, as described by Jerry, could then demand a higher price for their products. Eventually, a nice economic equilibrium could be reached where the peasant, the rich poultry investor and the Peace Corps Volunteer could eat eggs and live healthfully ever-after.

Our efforts are not misdirected.

Edward Rosen

Block Colony-Sundargarh
Orissa, India

To The Volunteer:

Since when has it become Peace Corps theory that poultry production is "the most useful thing a Volunteer can do to help alleviate India's acute and massive food shortage?" I am in agriculture, also in India. This is one of the fields to which Mr. Rust would give priority. Although our projects are different I feel that they and others are integral to Peace Corps work in India.

In implementing permanent change we must use all means which are available. I have found in my experience that an important resource is the capital of the middle class. Small industry and cooperative movements which must use this capital are necessary for economic progress. Development in these fields although presently incremental is essential to India's eventual self-sufficiency.

India will never "move away from her precarious perch on the brink of mass starvation" unless permanent

improvements can be made in all facets of food production. She will always falter in the task of feeding her overwhelming population if she is so shortsighted as to think of only immediate problems.

Peace Corps priorities in India must not be concerned only with food production. We must not look at our individual projects with a microscopic perspective. Each project fits into an integrated whole. Only together can we help to build the broad technical and educational foundation necessary to India's further development.

NEIL D. O'TOOLE
Ankola, North Kanara District
Mysore, India

Need persistence

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

At Gangavathi, Peace Corps efforts in the field of poultry development are serving as a constructive effort and a "step in the right direction." More food is produced for all, more people are employed at farms, cooperatives and allied agencies—i.e., retailers of poultry products, drug companies and government agencies.

The urgency felt by Peace Corps Volunteers is well founded, but persistence by those here will help the Indian people to make it. They're going to make it, brother!

JOHN L. TONEI
Gangavathi, P.O. Raichur Dist.
Mysore State, S. India

Sympathy needed

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I have been long in the foreign field as missionary and as special envoy with my husband assigned to various places such as Addis Ababa and Manila. It was some time ago, but it was we who laid the foundations upon which you are rearing such structures as will eventually bring the world into one unit.

I am sure that the younger workers in organizations such as the Peace Corps are doing a job which is without sufficient appreciation, just as ours was. One reason is the same basic attitudes which Larry Rector mentions (THE VOLUNTEER, November). He would train the Volunteer in observation of his environment. Then, when he gets where he is going, he could be encouraged (perhaps with competition for some recognition or prize) to submit articles about his experiences and evaluations of them, both in terms of the foreign program and in terms of enlightening American public opinion. Just a little attention to writing and a little evaluation of his motives would go a long way to helping him find constructive occupation for his leisure hours in the field. And then when he returns home he will not only have learned how to use his leisure hours in interesting watching of the world around him but he will have something interesting (and not all griping) to tell his listening public. He might even make some money writing books or giving lectures, if he has done his "homework" well.

To my mind, we need to make the affluent American sympathetic with the foreign cultures—not just informed about them. There is a vast difference. The Peace Corps is on the right track, because it takes a couple of years to really get to know a foreign culture.

MRS. FREDERICK G. LEASURE
Hot Springs, Arkansas

An Alinsky fan

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

Saul Alinsky is precisely the kind of man to help train Volunteers. Perhaps some of his discontent with the status quo and his desire to rouse people from their traditional lethargy will wear off on trainees. I would need some powerful convincing to believe that the infusion of such discontent—the inspiring of the will to get ahead—isn't exactly the goal of the Peace Corps. And if violence is the calculated risk of discontent, it is less a danger than is sloth, the inevitable outcome of a people content with their lot.

HOWARD BERMAN
Bangalore District, Mysore,
India

Thanks, padre

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I'd like to thank the Catholic priests who seem to help Peace Corps Volunteers wherever we go.

During a week's field training in Mexico, the mayor refused to see us, and what we thought was pre-selected housing never materialized. We wandered into a Catholic schoolyard and immediately had friends.

During five weeks in slums of San Juan, Puerto Rico, we learned more about community action from a priest and his nursing assistant than from any local agency or staff people.

While on vacation in the Indian districts of Western Venezuela, we were taken in for two days by the padres of the Tucuco Mission. These priests made the first white man contact with the Motilones in 1960 and are doing

Volunteers Dave Zorc and Tom Marshall in Aklan, the Philippines, are proud of the "House of David" built by Zorc, the mayor of Kalibo, and others. The house, reports Marshall, accommodates visiting Peace Corps members, serves as a fourth-grade classroom and a recreation center for the Kalibo Boys' Choir, and is one of Kalibo's main tourist attractions.

linguistic research on the tribes of the area in addition to the normal mission work.

Just today I heard a new co-op Volunteer ask an old one about a new site. "Don't worry," the old Volunteer said. "There's a padre out there and he'll make sure you get around."

There's a lot we can learn from the padres. They are tremendous CD people, working under tough conditions for them in Latin America. And their site assignments often last a lifetime.

JUDY THELEN

Caracas, Venezuela

Peace before war

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

Granting the unlikely proposition that the Peace Corps and outright war are two means to the same end, I believe there might be a few people in the 35,00C who are or have been Volunteers who do prefer peace to war, believing in the first and not in the second, and have become Volunteers for that very reason.

PATRICK J. MCCANN

Itarana, Espirito Santo
Brazil

First goals first

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I look around me and I wonder how it is possible to assume that some 300 Volunteers are going to help this country effectively to heal the sick, teach the ignorant and feed the hungry. Underdeveloped countries are in an abysmal economic position in a world where the gap between the rich and the poor can only widen. Such countries do not need Volunteers who are going to be sheep-herded into having an ideal educational experience. Rather they need as much skilled manpower as possible to pass on skills, in the hope of building a better life for the greatest number of people.

To me the essential fact of the Peace Corps is its desire to serve others. Don't ever let us allow it to become an inward-turned instrument which exists primarily for the betterment of our own society.

MARK C. RAYMAKER

Malangali, Tanzania

Memorandum

TO : The field
FROM : The editors
SUBJECT: Peace Corps firsts

DATE: May, 1967

Notable quote from training officer Bill Boast: "The Peace Corps exists as one of the most magnificent models for communication collapse that was ever designed."

□ □ □

Headline from a sister publication: "The Voice of America Marks 25 Years of Truth."

□ □ □

And on the outside track . . . *Ang Boluntaryo* of the Philippines has consistently held the unofficial Peace Corps title of best country newsletter. But editor Bill Wong & Co. have a new challenger from Venezuela. It's called *JumpUp*, and is edited by Judy Thelen.

□ □ □

We hear that the Peace Corps in India has people called *schlumps*. These are Volunteers who disappear and come out two years later.

□ □ □

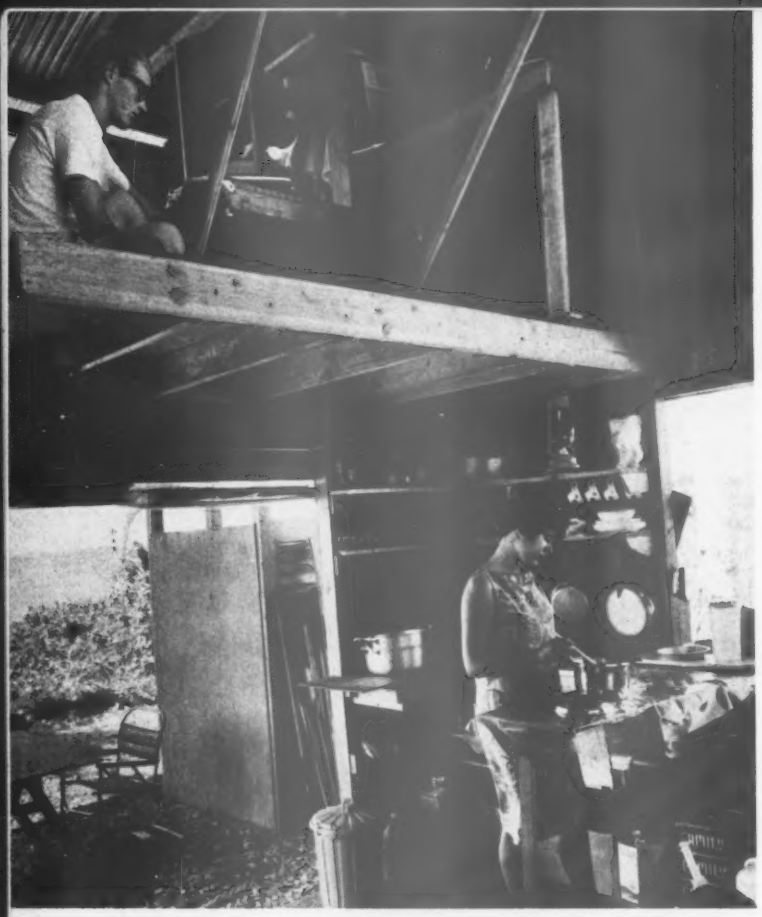
Ballots, anyone? A report shows that only 27 per cent of all Volunteers overseas filed ballots which were tallied in the November elections last year. The Office of Volunteer Support is looking for ways to improve the flow of information about various state laws, election dates, voter eligibility and other pertinent material to the field.

□ □ □

Country director Warren Fuller reports a first for Brazil: twin girls born to Volunteers Wendy and Don Boyd in Salvador, Bahia. He wonders if the twins are a Peace Corps first.

□ □ □

Last month we reported the Peace Corps was going to The Gambia next October. Famous last words. It's already there, in the form of a Volunteer without a program. He is Ray Benny, a mechanic who is the only Volunteer ever assigned to a country that doesn't have a Peace Corps program. Benny, shown at left, was one of 20 mechanics posted in Guinea when the Peace Corps was asked to leave that country in November. During reassignment time, most of the others opted to work in Tunisia or East Africa, but Benny chose The Gambia. He teaches at the Technical School in Bathurst, the capital. Senegal country director Walter Carrington, who looked in on Benny recently, reports that the lone Volunteer is doing quite well. The Gambia "lacks a highly bureaucratic structure," says Carrington, "and when Ray has problems he is free to take them directly to the Minister of Education, with whom he has become good friends."



A housing shortage on Majuro island inspired the Jones house in Micronesia. Architect Carleton Hawpe designed it and the residents, Jim and Ann Jones, built it. At left, Jim is in the bedroom and Ann in the kitchen-living room. Wide overhangs keep the rain out; sliding mat doors insure privacy.

Photos by Carl Purcell

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